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EDITED BY

**W. NORMAN BROWN**  
University of Pennsylvania

**JOHN K. SHRYOCK**  
University of Pennsylvania

**JAMES A. MONTGOMERY**  
University of Pennsylvania

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## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STOPS IN HITTITE

EDGAR H. STURTEVANT

YALE UNIVERSITY

[While the original distinction between voiced and voiceless stops was not maintained, the original voiceless stops were regularly written double wherever the cuneiform system of writing made this possible, and other stops were not. Exceptions are so frequent that this tendency can rarely be used to determine the truth or falsity of an etymology.]

MARSTRANDER<sup>1</sup> has held that at the time when Hittite was reduced to writing the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops still persisted. Later on, he thought, the distinction vanished from the language but was imperfectly recorded by tradition until the composition of our documents in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries. The large amount of material published since 1919 and the many new etymologies now at our disposal would make it easy to refute this position in detail; but it is enough to indicate certain modifications of the cuneiform writing that the Hittites introduced.

Even in Accadian the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops is somewhat obscured by ambiguous signs. At the close of a syllable the character of a stop is rarely shown; for example, *ad* and *at*, *kad* and *kat* are denoted by the same sign. The *bu* sign has also the value *pu*, and a majority of the closed signs beginning with a stop are ambiguous in this respect. Nevertheless variant orthographies make it possible to distinguish voiced and voiceless stops in common Accadian words with substantial accuracy. The

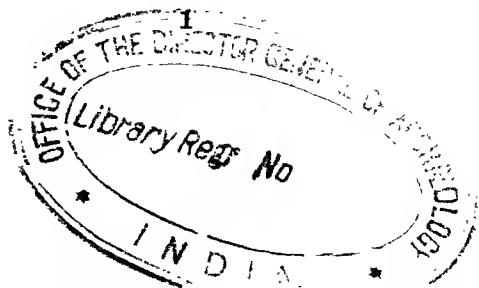
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<sup>1</sup> *Caractère Indo-Européen de la Langue Hittite*, 134 ff. (1919).

Since this paper was written I have observed that both Forrer (*AJSL* 47. 300) and Friedrich (*Hethitisch und Kleinasiatische Sprachen* = *Geschichte der Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* 2. 5. 1. 22) object to a simple solution of the problem of the pronunciation of the stops in Hittite—presumably because the facts themselves are complicated. But if we assume that the Hittite scribes did not hear the Accadian distinction between *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*, and that they tried to follow the practice of their masters in this as in other matters, that is enough to account for any amount of confusion. On the other hand a secondary regularization of a confused orthography is almost inevitable; hence the tendency to use a given sign in a given word or a given inflectional ending.

I am not convinced by Götze's treatment of certain double consonants in *Madd.* 41-50.

(255)





Hittites simplified the syllabary by discarding most of the duplicate symbols, and in the course of this process they eliminated a large part of the mechanism for distinguishing between voiced and voiceless stops. The only pairs retained are *da ta*, *di ti*, *du tu*, *ga ka*, *gi ki*, *gu ku*, *dir tir*, *gal kal*, and *gur kur*; and of these *di*, *gi*, *dir*, *gal*, and *gur* are rare, except that some of them are common as ideograms. In general the only distinctions made are those between *d* and *t*, and *g* and *k*, where *a* or *u* follows in the same word and when open signs are employed. Even in cases where the distinction is possible, much variation occurs. The personal ending of the third sing. imperative for example, is more commonly written *du* but not infrequently *tu*. Although the enclitic *-ta* "tibi, te" is constantly so written, the equivalent *-du*, which must contain the same original consonant, nearly always has *d*. The inevitable conclusion is that Hitt. did not possess the same distinction as Accadian between *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*, *g* and *k*. It does not follow, however, that there was no distinction in Hitt. between the original voiced and voiceless stops.

One of my students, Mr. C. L. Mudge, has recently called my attention to the fact that original voiceless stops are usually represented in Hitt. by doubled consonants wherever the cuneiform writing makes this possible, while the tendency is to write single *p*, *t* (*d*), and *k* (*g*) for original voiced stops and voiced aspirates.<sup>2</sup> The following table presents the facts upon which the above generalization is based. Most of the etymologies involved have been published, and references to the pertinent literature may be found in my *Hittite Glossary* (*Language Monograph*, No. 9). Such comment as seems necessary is here added in footnotes. The citation of forms in the Table is incomplete. If either of two rival orthographies is distinctly rarer than the other I enclose the citation in square brackets.

#### INDO-HITTITE *p*

*appa* = Gk. *ἀπό* "from, back"

*appezzis* "last", *appai* 'is finished' <sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mudge noticed that original *p* appears in Hitt. as *pp*. The elaboration of the idea is mine.

<sup>3</sup> *appai* "is finished" is a compound of IH *\*apo* and the perfect of *\*ei* "go". It may come either from *\*apo-ei* or from reduplicated *\*apo-iyēi*,

ap-, ep- = Skt. *āp-* "obtain" <sup>4</sup>

eppuweni, appanzi, eppun, eppir, [epari]  
 appandu, appanza, eppuwanzi,  
 appattat, appantat, appanza,  
 appatar

hapatis = Gk. *ὑπηδός* "retainer"

harp- = Skt. *arpayā-* "throw,  
 place"

harappanzi

istap- = Skt. *sthāpaya-* "cause to  
 stand"

istappi, istappanzi, istappas, is- [istapi]  
 tappandu, istappanza, istappi-  
 nuir

karp- = Lat. *carpo* "pluck"

karappazi, karappanzi, karappun, [karapanzi]  
 karappizzi, karappiyattin, kar-  
 appiya

lip- "smear": Gk. *λίπος* 'animal  
 fat'

lippanzi lipanzi

pap(p)ars- "sprinkle": Skt. *prṣat*  
 "drop of water" <sup>5</sup>

papparaszi, papparsanzi, papp- [paparsanzi, paparashun]  
 rassanta

spant- = Gk. *σπένδει* "pours a liba-  
 tion" <sup>6</sup>

[sippant-] sipant-

terip- 'plough': Gk. *τρέπω* "turn"  
 terippanza, terippuwanzi

#### INDO-HITTITE *bh*

apas "that": Skt. *abhi* "towards" <sup>7</sup>

karap-, karep- "fressen": Skt.  
*grabh-* "seize"

if we assume that Pre-Hittite *\*apeyēi* lost *y* between like vowels. For Hitt. *e* from *oi*, see *Language* 6. 28 f.

<sup>4</sup> For the etymology, see *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 1. 78.

<sup>5</sup> For the etymology, see *RHA* 1. 83.

<sup>6</sup> For the etymology, see Hrozný, *Die Sprache der Hethiter* 4<sup>1</sup>; Sturtevant, *Language* 4. 1. The word is written with intervocalic *p* about four times as often as with *pp*, and 8 of the 14 instances of *pp* that I have recorded are in one text, *Keilschrift-Urkunden aus Boghazköi* 5. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *apas* "that" is certainly the same word as Lycian *cbe* "this". The only IE word that can be combined with these is the adverb *\*ebhi*, *obhi*

karapi, garapi, karapanzi, kari-  
 pas, karepir, karipandu, kari-  
 puwazzi, karipuwān  
 kuwapi "where": Lat. *ubi*  
 nepis "sky": Gk. *νέφος* "cloud"  
 -pe, -pet, particle of identity: Gk.  
*ὡς* "as"  
 tapusa, dapusa, tapusaz, tapusza  
 "near", tapuwas "side": IE  
 \**dhabh-* "fit, make suitable"<sup>8</sup>  
 tepus "small": Skt. *dabhnoti* "in-  
 jures"

INDO-HITTITE *t* AND *th*

katta(n) = Gk. *κατά* "with, along,  
 down"

kuwatta = Lat. *quot* "how many"

mita(i)- "bound"?: Lat. *metor*  
 "lay out, plan"

peddai-, pettiya- "fly, flee": Lat.  
*peto* "go to"

pettar = Skt. *patram* "wing"

sittar = Gk. *στῆρ* "star"

-tta "tibi, te" = Gk. *τοί*, Skt. *te*<sup>9</sup> [-ta]

natta "not": Gk. *οὐ τοί*<sup>10</sup>

-ddu "tibi, te": Lat. *tu*

-du

tetanas "hair": Lat. *tenuis* "thin"?

tittanu- "place": IE \**stā-* "stand"

"to, toward". The variation in stem-final between *i* and *e/o* is familiar in the pronominal stems. Germanic *bi* "to, toward" requires an analysis of \**o-bhi*, and the second element must be identical with the pronominal and adverbial stem \**bhi*, *bho*, with which I have connected Hitt. *pe-* "secum" and *-pe* (or *-pet*), the particle of identity (see *Language* 7. 8 f.).

<sup>8</sup> On the Hittite words, see Sommer, *Boghazköi-Studien* 10. 26 f. The noun occurs also in *KUB* 9. 4. 1. 9 (gen.) and 27 (nom.). The IE root \**dhabh-* "passend fügend, passend" appears, for example, in Lat. *faber* "smith", Lith. *dabinti* "adorn", and Goth. *gaðōb* "πρίπει".

<sup>9</sup> For the etymology, see *Language* 6. 28. I cannot explain the vocalism of *-du*, although it must be somehow related with that of IE \**tu* "thou". In the texts included in Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in Hethitischer Sprache*, *-ta* after a vowel is written with *tt* 114 times and with *t* 10 times, while *-du* has *dd* four times and *d* five times.

<sup>10</sup> The first element of *natta* "not" may come from IH \**ni*, but I am inclined to think that full-grade \**ne* suffered assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable in Hitt.

witti (dat.-loc.) "year" = Gk. <i>ἔτος</i>	sawifisza "of the same year",
"year"	witassi (dat.-loc.) "yearly"
-tten(i), second pl. ending: Skt. [-ten(i)]	
-ta(na), Gk. -τε	
-tti, -tta, second sing. ending of the hi-conjugation: Skt. -tha, Gk. -θα <sup>11</sup>	
-tta, medio-passive suffix: Gk. -ρο <sup>12</sup>	[-ta]
-ttari, -ttaru, medio-passive suffixes: Lat. -tur <sup>13</sup>	[-tari, -taru]
[-ttil], medio-passive suffix: Gk. -ται <sup>12</sup>	-ti
-ttaras, -ttallas, suffixes forming agent nouns: IE *-ter, -tel <sup>13</sup>	-tallas
-tt, a suffix forming action nouns <sup>14</sup>	

INDO-HITTITE *d*

ed-, ad- = Lat. *edo* "eat"  
 adai, adanzi, atanzi, eter, adandu,  
 adanna, adanza  
 hapatis = Gk. *ὑπηδός* "retainer"  
 pedan "place": Gk. *πέδον* "ground"  
 da- "take": Skt. *ā-dā-* "take"  
 (with inseparable prefixes)  
 widai, widaizzi, wetenun, widait,  
 wetet, wetatten, weter, wetesk;  
 uwatesi, uwadezzi, uwatummeni,  
 uwatanzi, uwadenun, uwatenun,

<sup>11</sup> The endings of the second sing. of the *hi*-conjugation are surely connected with the IE second sing. perfect ending *-tha*. Probably Hitt. inherited only *-ta*, but in the present tense of the newly developed conjugation the vowel was assimilated to that of the other present endings, especially to *-hi* and *-i* of the first and third sing. of the *hi*-conjugation. These endings contain the only known representative of IE (and IH!) *th* in Hitt.

<sup>12</sup> For the history of the medio-passive suffixes, see *Language* 7. 242 ff. I know of *-tti* after a vowel only in *huittitti* (2 *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift* 30. 1. 15) and in *lukkatti* (*passim*).

<sup>13</sup> On the agent suffixes, see Sommer, *BoSt.* 7. 60; Götze, *Madduwattas* 106 ff. Forms with *tt* are somewhat more common than the citations in my *Hittite Glossary* indicate. In several cases I followed others in writing *t* where the texts have *tt*.

<sup>14</sup> Götze, *Madd.* 78 f., lists a number of nouns containing this suffix, e. g. *kartimmiyaz*, whose acc. is *kardimiyattan* (*KUB* 17. 10. 4. 3) and whose pl. is *kartimmiyaddus* (*KUB* 5. 6. 1. 34). For the corresponding formation in IE, see Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Grammatik der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 2<sup>2</sup>. 1. 422 ff.

uwatet, uwatewen, uwa<sup>der</sup>,  
 uwater, uwati, uwa<sup>teddu</sup>;  
 udahhi, udai, utummeni, udat-  
 teni, udanzi, utenzi, udahhun,  
 udas, utumen, uter, utummanzi;  
 pedai, pedaizzi, petummeni,  
 pedanzi, petas, pedas, pedait,  
 peter, pedau, pedandu, pedanza  
 watarnah- "command": Gk. αὐδή,  
 Skt. vad- "speak"<sup>15</sup>  
 watar, wetenas = Gk. ἔωπ  
 ammedaz "a me",<sup>16</sup> anzedaz "a  
 nobis"; tuedaz "a te", sumedaz  
 "a vobis"; edas "eius", edani  
 "ei", etez "ab eo"; sedani  
 "ei"; kedani "huic", kedas  
 "his"; apedani "illi", apedas  
 "illis"; kuedani "cui", kuedas  
 "quibus"; damedas "alterius",  
 damedani "alteri", damedaz  
 "ab alio", damedas "aliis",  
 dameda "alio tempore": Skt.  
 madiyas "my", tadvid "know-  
 ing that", anyadā "at another  
 time", Gk. δλλοδαπός "for-  
 eign", etc.

<sup>15</sup> For the related *uddar* "word", see below, p. 000.

<sup>16</sup> IE pronouns show a final *d* in a number of forms: nom.-acc. sing. neut. \**tod*, etc., acc. sing. Lat. *mēd*, *tēd*, *sēd*. (For various explanations of the final *d* in the acc.—all unsatisfactory—see Leumann, *Stolz-Schmalz Lateinische Grammatik*<sup>5</sup> 282 f.) With these forms must, in my opinion, be connected the prior elements of Gk. ποδαπός "from what country", δλλοδαπός "foreign", ἡμεδαπός "of our country", ὑμεδαπός "of your country", Skt. madiyas "my", tvadiyas "thy", asmadiyas "our", yuṣmadiyas "your", tadvid "knowing that", mātṛkṛtas "done by me", etc.

Egerton, *Festschrift für Wilhelm Geiger* 100-3, has recently ascribed the Skt. compounds and derivatives of pronominal stems in *d* to analogy, thus: *vasu* : *tad* = *vasu-vid* : *tad-vid*. In other words, since many substantives and adjectives have identical forms in nom.-acc. sing. neut., the nom.-acc. sing. neut. of certain pronouns was treated as a stem. From these pronouns the *d* spread even to the personal pronouns. Egerton lays stress on the rarity of such forms in the Veda. They are not unknown, however, even in the Rīg-Veda; and, since such stem-forms must be assumed for IE, it seems unnecessary to assume that they were lost in primitive Indic, merely to be re-created in Skt.

Aside from the forms with medial *d* or *t*, Hitt. has a final dental in nom.-acc. sing. neut. in -at, apat, kuit, etc. They are obviously identical

INDO-HITTITE *dh*

	idalus "bad": Gk. αἰθαλος "smoky flame", etc.
huwittiya- "draw, lead": IE * <i>yedh-</i>	pehuta- "lead, bring, carry"
"lead, carry, marry" <sup>17</sup>	pehutesi, pehutezzi, pehudanzi, pe- hutenun, pehutet, pehuter, pe- hute, pehudanza, pehuteskanzi
	wed- "build": IE * <i>yedh-</i> "fasten, bind"
	wedahhi, wetezzi, wedanzi, wetenun, wedahhun, wetet, wedas, wetu- men, weter, wedandu, wetanza, wetumanzi, wetumar, wedumas, weteskit

INDO-HITTITE *k* (IE *k̂*, *q*, *qʷ*)

akkusk-	aku-, eku- "drink": Lat. <i>aqua</i> "water" ekuzzi, ekutteni, eku- watteni, akuwanzi, ekuer, eku, ekutten, akuwandu, akuwannas
hukkisk- "conjure", hukkuis "con- jurer" <sup>1</sup>	huk- "conjure": Lat. <i>vox</i> "voice" <sup>18</sup> hukanzi, hugawen, hukanza, hu- kanna, hugannas
luk- "kindle, grow light": Lat. <i>luceo</i> "shine" <sup>19</sup>	
lukker, lukkatta, lukkatti; lukk- izzi, lukkit, lukkanza; lukkeszi, lukkesdu	[lukatta, lukatti,] lukat

with the similar forms in IE (Skt. *tat*, Lat. *quid*, etc.). Very like the Hitt. forms with a case-ending after the *d* are the Skt. adverbs *tadā* "then", *yadā* "when", *kadā* "when?", etc. In the great Hattusilis text, 4, 24, occurs an adverb *dameda* ( : *damais* "other") which Götze translates "sonst". I should translate the sentence thus: *Urhi-Tesupan kuwapi dameda natta kuwapikki tarnas*, "she never at any other time abandoned Urhi-Tesup". That is, *dameda* seems here to be the precise equivalent of Skt. *anyadā* "at another time".

However this may be, one must assume that most of the Hitt. case-forms listed above are of relatively recent development under the influence of the noun declension. The combined evidence of IE and Hitt. points to pronominal forms ending in *d* and functioning variously in the sentence. Possibly these forms might perform all case functions at the close of the IH period, but the evidence scarcely warrants so large an inference.

<sup>17</sup> For the connection of this word with *pehuta-*, see *Language* 7. 7.

<sup>18</sup> For the etymology, see *Language* 6. 226.

<sup>19</sup> On *lukkatta* and *lukkatti*, see *Language* 7. 247.

sak-, sek- "know": Goth. *saihan*  
"see"

saggahhi, sakki, sekkueni, sekk-  
anzi, sakkis, sekkir, sekkanza

sakanzi, sakuwan; sakisk-, "de  
clare", sagais "omen", sakiya  
"declare"

sakuwa "eyes" = Lat. *oculus*

taks- "join": Gk. *τέκτων* "builder"

taggashi, taggassi, taggeszi, takk-  
iszi, takkesteni, takkessanzi,

taggasta, takkesta, takkisk-

tekkus- "show": Lat. *dico* "say"

wek- "ask": Skt. *vaś* "desire"

wekkanzi, uwakkizzi

wekanza, wekisk-

-sk = IE *-sk*, verbal suffix

zikkizzi "he places", azzikkizzi "he  
eats"

[zikkanzi]

-ki, indefinite particle: Gk. *πολλά-κι*<sup>20</sup>

kuedanikki

[kuedaniki]

-ka, indefinite particle<sup>20</sup>

kueka

#### INDO-HITTITE *g* (IE *ǵ*, *g*, *ǵh*)

ak-, ek- "die": Lat. *ago* "do" (?)

agi, agun, egir, agir, agu

aggahhi, akkanzi, akkis, aggallu,

akkandu, akkanza, aggannas,

akkisk-

nekumanza, "naked" = Gk. *γυμνός*

yugan = Lat. *iugum* "yoke"

#### INDO-HITTITE *gh* (IE *ǵh*, *gh*, *ǵh*)

halugas "message": IE *\*leugh-*  
"swear, lie"<sup>21</sup>

lak- "cause to fall, fall, lie"

laki, laganza, lagari, lagaittari,  
lagaru; saliga, salikuwastati,  
salikaru

tekan "earth": IE *\*dhengh-*  
"cover" or Gk. *χθών*.

<sup>20</sup> For the etymology, see *Language* 6. 225.

<sup>21</sup> *halugas* "message" contains the prefix *\*ho-* (see *Language* 4. 163 ff.) and the root *\*leugh-* "declare", which appears in Goth. *liugan* "lie" and also in *liugan* "marry"; cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 2. 415.

There can be no question that these facts justify the generalization with which we started, even if some of the etymologies whose truth I have assumed should be rejected. As a rule Hitt. shows a double consonant for IH. *p*, *t*, or *k* if the cuneiform system permits, but a single consonant for IH *bh*, *d*, *dh*, *g*, or *gh*. Particularly significant are such orthographies as *har-ap-pa-an-zi* (KUB 17. 28. 3. 40) beside frequent *har-pa-an-zi*, *kar-ap-pa-an-zi* beside *kar-pa-an-zi* (both fairly frequent—see Götze, *Madd.* 45), *az-zi-ik-ki-iz-zi* instead of *\*az-ki-iz-zi* [atskitsi]; where a non-phonetic syllabic sign seems to be inserted just to make possible the double writing of the stop.

The frequent exceptions to the rule will not surprise anyone who is familiar with the orthography of the Accadian texts; on the contrary so close an approach to consistency in the use of cuneiform signs is of peculiar importance.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless the exceptions make it difficult to use this tendency as a check on etymological hypotheses. There can scarcely be doubt that *ekuzzi*, *akuwanzi* "drink, give to drink" is cognate with Lat. *aqua* "water", *hukanzi* "they conjure" with Lat. *vox* "voice", *sakuwa* "eyes" with Lat. *oculus* "eye" or with Goth. *saihan* "see" or with both, the middle ending *-ti* with Gk. *ται*; hence we need not doubt the inherently less certain identification of *hapatis* "retainer" with Homeric *ῥηδός* "retainer" just because of intervocalic *p* instead of *pp*. Similarly we need not reject the otherwise plausible connection of *huwittiya-* "draw, lead" with Skt. *vadhūṣ* "bride", Lith. *vedù*, *vèsti* "lead, carry, marry", etc.

It is only under special conditions that the use of a single or of a double stop in Hitt. texts can be of decisive etymological value. There is no doubt of the connection of *mekkis* "great" (with constant *kk* or *gg*) either with Gk. *μέγας* "great" or with Skt. *mah-* "great". Either etymology demands a single consonant in Hitt., but it is not hard to find the probable source of Pre-Hittite *k*. Avestan *mas-* "long", *masišta-* "highest", Old Persian *maθišta-* "highest", and other Iranian forms belong to the root of Gk. *μήκος* "length", Lat. *macer* "slender", etc.; but they owe their

<sup>22</sup> I cannot suggest any reason for such a distribution of the two spellings as is seen in *ekuzzi* and the corresponding iterative-durative *akkuskizzi* and in *hukanzi* beside *hukkiskanzi*; but such words as *pehuteskanzi*, *weteskit*, and *sakisk-* (see Götze, *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I. 412) seem to show that the suffix *sk* has no causal relation to the double writing.



*a* in place of *i* < *a* to contamination with IE \**meg-*, *megh-* "great". Similarly the influence of IH \*\**māk-* "long, slender" has brought *k* > *kk* into our Hitt. descendent of \*\**meg-* "great". The presence of the root \*\**māk-* in IH is proven by Hitt. *maklanzu* "thin, lean".

While *nekuz* in the phrase *nekuz mehur* "evening" is certainly to be connected with IE \**nokt-*, *nokti-* "night" (see *Language* 6. 220), I have omitted it from the above list of words with IH *k*. The orthography indicates original *g* or *gh*, and the IE forms may perfectly well owe their *k* to assimilation of an original *g* to the *t* of the suffix. I therefore assume an IH \*\**negu-* as the base of our words. The same base must be assumed for Hitt. *nekumanza* "naked" beside Gk. γυμνός, Skt. *nagnas*, Lat. *nūdus*, Goth. *naqaps*, OIr. *nocht*, etc. Except for the Greek word, all the historic IE forms demand \**nog<sup>h</sup>e-* or \**nōgu-* with various suffixes (see Walde-Pokorny 2. 339 f.), while Gk. γυμνός presupposes \**ngu-mnós* (see *Language* 6. 221 f.); and these are clearly ablaut variants of \**negu-*. The suffix of Hitt. *nekumanza* is the familiar *uent/ment* possessive suffix, while Gk. γυμνός contains the nil-grade of the equivalent suffix *men*. Evidently IH \*\**negu-* was a noun. I suggest that it may have meant "bed". Then \*\**négu-mnt-* and \*\**ngu-mnós* meant originally "having a bed, in bed" and later "ready for bed, undressed".

In Hitt. we have verb forms also from the root \*\**negu-*, and the meaning of the verb must be "go to bed", while the impersonal middle must mean "people go to bed, it is bed time". Correct my *Hittite Glossary* accordingly. The Yale Hittite Tablet 1. 10 (*TAPA* 58. 6 = *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte* 24) should be interpreted as follows: *nu mahhan nekuzi nussan ANA EN.ZÚR*, "and when he goes to bed, (they bind) upon the sacrificer" (certain kinds of wool).

In the phrase *nekuz mehur* we have the genitive of a verbal noun in *t*, so that the literal meaning is "time of going to bed, bed time", and *nekuz MUL* (*KUB* 9. 22. 3. 38) means "star of going to bed, evening star". IE \**nokt-* and \**nokti-* present the same verbal noun with an easy shift of meaning.

Since the suffix *no* may form either primary or secondary derivatives it is possible to connect Skt. *nagnas* either with \*\**negu-* "go to bed" or with \*\**negu-* "bed". In either case the original

meaning must have been "in bed" or the like. Possibly the *to* suffix of Celtic and Germanic indicates derivation from the verb.

The suffix *-tar* is freely used to form action nouns, particularly from medio-passive verbs, and its dat.-loc. *-tanna*, *-tanni* forms infinitives. There are two IE suffixes, *-tro* and *-dhro*,<sup>23</sup> that might be connected; and the consistent writing with *t* instead of *tt* disposes one to prefer the latter. Since IE *-tro* and *-tlo* have the same forces as *-dhro* and *-dhlo*, it is possible to assume that IH formed agent nouns in *-ter(o)* and *-tel(o)*, and action nouns in *-dhr(o)* and *-dhl(o)*, while IE action nouns in *-tro* and *-tlo* are due to contamination.

Hitt. *uddar*, abl. *uddanaz* "word, lawsuit" must be connected with *watarnah-* "command", and this I have compared (p. 6) with Skt. *vad-* "speak" and Gk. *αἶδις* "speech". No doubt the verb is based upon a noun *\*watar*, which must have been roughly equivalent to *uddar*. Probably *\*watar* contained a suffix *-ar* and *uddar* the commoner suffix *-tar* from *\*dhr*; but that is not a complete explanation of the latter word. IH dental + dental yields Hitt. *st*<sup>24</sup> and so we should expect *\*ustar*. Furthermore, action nouns generally show *-ssar* instead of anticipated *-star*: *asessar* "assembly" beside *ases-* "set, found", *hannessar* "justice, lawsuit" beside *hanes-* "clean, trim" and *hanna-* "litigate", *parkuwessar* "purification" beside *parkuwes-* "become pure", *sessar* "lair of wild beasts"? beside *seszi* "sleeps" (: IE *\*sed-* "sit"), *dannattessar* "emptiness" beside *tannattes-* "become empty". This form of the suffix developed in the oblique cases; *\*asestnas* regularly became *asesnas*, and then a new nominative was formed by analogy. To be sure the language as preserved presents no precisely suitable model, but before the change of *mn* to *m(m)* the pair *arrumnas*: *arrumar* "a washing" may have induced *asesnas*: *asessar*, or before the change of *tn* to *n(n)* the pair *appatnas*: *appatar* "a taking" may have performed the same function, provided we assume that *tn* after *s* was altered before *tn* after a vowel.

As to *uddar*, we must suppose that the verb *\*wad-*, *ud-* "speak" survived until after the change of dental + dental to *st* was completed, and then induced a re-formation *uddar*. This involves the

<sup>23</sup> On these suffixes, see Brugmann, *Grund.* 2<sup>a</sup>. 1. 339 ff., 377 ff. The variation between *\*\*dhro-* and *\*\*dhr* scarcely requires comment.

<sup>24</sup> See *Language* 6. 27, *JAOS* 50. 126.

assumption either that *dd* is an etymological spelling or that a long consonant was pronounced in this word at the time the language was reduced to writing (not necessarily at the time when our texts were written).

The phonetic interpretation of Hitt. *tt* from original *t* is doubtful. Two chief possibilities present themselves: *tt* (*dd*) was either a long consonant or a fortis. In favor of the former alternative may be urged the case of *uddar*, where there seems to be no reason to assume a fortis (although it is of course possible that a long consonant developed into a fortis). Again Hitt. presents many instances of *mm*, *nn*, *rr*, *ll*, *ss*, *hh*, and on the basis of length we can bring all of them under one rubrik; but even so we shall be at a loss to account for the very common *zz* (*z* = *ts*). On the other hand, many languages make voiced stops longer than the corresponding unvoiced sounds; the contrary development would be surprising. Furthermore, such orthographies as *harappanzi* [harpantsi], *karappanzi* [karpantsi], *sippanti* [spanti], *sittar* [star], *sekkueni* [sekweni], *taggashi* [taksxi], *zikkizzi* [tskitsi], *azzikkizzi* [atskitsi] indicate that the pronunciation indicated by the double writing was not confined to the position between vowels; a long stop at the beginning or end of a consonant group is not impossible, but it is less likely than a fortis.

It is worth noting that Hitt. treats the original voiced stops and voiced aspirates in the same way, and, if we may draw a conclusion from the single instance of the second sing. ending of the *hi*-conjugation, voiceless aspirates in the same way as voiceless stops. This state of affairs harmonizes perfectly with the current theory about the pronunciation of stops in IE. It would not be difficult, however, to accommodate the new facts to the theory of Prokosch, Collitz, and others that we should assume voiceless spirants instead of voiced aspirates in IE.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> See especially Prokosch, *Modern Philology* 15. 621-8, 16. 99-112, 325-36, 543-52; Collitz, *AJP* 39. 415, *Language* 2. 178 ff.

## VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA, CHAPTER XLI<sup>1</sup>

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

### Translation

1. Mārkaṇḍeya said: Painting is said to be of four kinds: Satya, Vāṇika, Nāgara, and Miśra; I shall define their characteristics (*lakṣana*).

2. Painting that represents any of the worlds (*kiñcilloka-sādrśya*), that is elongated, and has ideal proportion (*pramāṇa*), that is delicate (*sukumāra*), and has a goodly background (*subhūmika*), is called Pure or Sacred (*satya*).

3. Painting that fully fills a square field, not elongated, without superfluities of form (*nôlvanākṛti*), and rich in ideal proportion and in poses (*pramāṇasthāna-lambhādhyā*) is called Lyrical (*vāṇika*).

4. Painting that closely covers every part of a circular field (*dr̥ḍhōpacita-sarvāṅgam vartulam*), without exaggeration of . . . (*dyana*), and having but little of garlands or jewels, is known as Urban or Secular (*nāgara*).

5. Painting is called Mixed (*miśra*) when there is a combination (of these kinds), O best of men. There are recognized three ways of shading, viz.: Patrā, Āhāivikā, and Bindujā, "Leaf", "Wash" (?) and "Dotted".

6. The leaf shading (*patrā-vartanā*) is done with lines (*rekhā*) like those on a leaf; that which is very faint (*sūkṣma*) is *āhāirikā-vartanā*;

7. while that done with an upright (*sthambanāyukta*) (brush) is dot shading (*bindu-vartanā*). Weakness of dots or lines, absence of clear definition (*avibhaktatva*),

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<sup>1</sup> A version, by no means satisfactory, of this and the other chapters of the Viṣṇudharmottara dealing with painting has been published by Stella Kramrisch, the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1928. The text is probably of late Gupta date, as argued by Kramrisch on the basis of internal evidence, and certainly not later than A. D. 628, when it was known to Brahmagupta. A comparison with painting at Ajanṭā is therefore valid. The text is full of difficulties and even with the help of Professor Norman Brown I have not been able to solve all the problems. The mastery of Śilpa texts will have to be acquired gradually: existing dictionaries offer little aid, and often worse than none.

8. the representation of human figures (*mānavākārātā*), with testicles, lips, or eyes too large, or anything exaggerated are said to be the faults (*doṣa*) of painting.

9. Pose (*sthāna*), ideal proportion (*pramāṇa*), extent of background (*bhū-lambā*), sweetness (*madhuratva*), resemblance (*sādrśya*), and foreshortening (*pakṣa-vṛddhi*) are the respective merits (*guṇa*) of painting.<sup>2</sup>

10. Outline (*rekhā*), shading (*vartanā*), adornment (*bhūṣaṇa*), and color (*varṇa*) are regarded, O best of men, as the ornaments (*bhūṣaṇa*) of painting.

11. Masters praise the outline; connoisseurs (*vicakṣaṇa*) the shading; women desire the jewels, others the richness in color (*varṇādhya*).

12. Mindful of this, (the painter) should carry out the work in painting so that it may be appreciated (*grahaṇa*, "grasping") by everyone.

13. An uncomfortable seat, bad conduct (?) (*durānītam*), thirst, and absent-mindedness are regarded as the causes of failure in painting.

14. The surface (*bhūmī*) for painting should be well primed and made to shine (*svānulīptavikāśa*) according to rule, honey-colored, bright, very clear, and secluded (*abhigupta*).

15. A painting made with lovely, pure, bright-colored outlines, with the costumes such as are known by the learned to be appropriate to the different countries and callings (of those represented as wearing them),<sup>3</sup> not lacking ideal proportion and brilliancies, would be a painting indeed (*citram atīvacitram*).

### Commentary

The technical terms have to be interpreted with due regard to their use in preceding and following chapters of the Viṣṇudhar-

<sup>2</sup> The same list of "Eight" *guṇas* is repeated in Ch. XLIII, 19, but with *bhū-lambā* for *bhū-lambā*, and *kṣaya-* for *pakṣa-*. *Kṣaya-* is evidently the correct reading: if *kṣa* and *ya* were accidentally transposed, a reading *pa* for *ya* would easily follow.

<sup>3</sup> *Vidvānyathādeśaviśeṣaveśam* (read *vidvadyathā* ?); cf. the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, Ch. I, where the donor is to be represented on the *paṭa*, *yathā-veśasaṃsthānagr̥hītaṅgam*, "just as he really is in clothing, bodily constitution, and aspect"; and *deśabhāṣakriyāveśa-lakṣaṇaḥ*, Daśarūpa II, 96. Also our text, XLII, 49, *citre rūpaṃ yathā veśam varṇaṃ ca*; and XLIII, 2, *vidagdha-veśābharana*.

mottara, the treatment in other works, especially the Śilparatna, Ch. 64, and the character of Indian painting as known from extant remains. In verses 1-3 it is clear that we have to take into account not only the positive statements, but also the negative implications; for example, we may assume that the Satya painting is *not* "rich in poses", and that Vāinika and Nāgara painting are restricted in their subject matter to certain particular worlds. The rendering given above can be best explained by adding here an expanded version, which now follows:

(Vv. 2-4) Painting done on an upright canvas,<sup>4</sup> in harmonious colors, and having an ample background (or perhaps, provided with an honorable setting), with subject matter derived from the world of the gods or any other sphere, is called Sacred; here, as also in Lyrical painting, where heroes such as Rāma are represented, the rules of ideal proportion are to be carefully followed, but this is not so essential in Secular painting.

Lyrical painting is narrative painting, done on a square surface, at any rate not on an upright panel; it deals with happenings on earth, not with the iconography of the gods, and hence such forms as additional limbs will not be found in it. Further, the action will require the representation of many different positions and movements, not merely the frontal pose appropriate to the image of a god. The name Lyrical is given to this kind of painting because these various poses and movements reflect the motives and emotions of the actors; in other words, because we recognize in this kind of painting just such *bhāvas* and *rasas* as belong to the drama and music.<sup>5</sup> Then too, this kind of painting occupies the whole space available, whereas in Sacred painting, the figure of the god is surrounded by a considerable background in plain color or gold. Secular painting is quite different; it is usually done on a circular

<sup>4</sup> The *paṭa* measurements prescribed in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa are eight high by six wide, five high by two wide, etc.

<sup>5</sup> There are several passages in Sanskrit literature which show clearly that *alamkāra* theories were actually, as they obviously could have been, applied to works of art (painting or sculpture). *Rasa* in painting is discussed in our text, Ch. 43. The Śilparatna, LXIV. 12, 111, 143, and 146 refers to the expression of *rasa*, *bhāva*, *kriyā*, and *vyāpāra* in painting. In the Uttararāmacarita, I, 39, Sītā receives a "latent impression" (*bhāvanā*) from the pictures of Rāma's life which she has seen. In the Pratimānāṭaka of Bhāsa, III, 38, the hero is sensitive to the *bhāva* ex-

field, for it consists chiefly in portraiture, and it is in a circular mirror that one sees one's own face.<sup>6</sup> Here the faces or figures of the persons represented are relatively large, filling the whole area, and leaving scarcely any background. The multiplicity of garlands and attributes proper to representations of deities<sup>7</sup> will not be required. This kind of painting is called Secular or Urban, because it is practised by princes and other amateurs and men about town such as we call Nāgarika, and has much to do with gallantry.

For the remaining problems, a discussion of individual words will be convenient, following the order in which they appear in the text. *Vartanā*:<sup>8</sup> the primary sense is that of "application of color", or "brush-work" (cf. *vartikā*, paint-brush), e. g. in the Kirātārjuniya, X, 42, where we have *alaktaka vartanā*, painting the foot with lac. But *vartanā*, in the technical works, is evidently

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pressed in the ancestral statues, and this and the charm of the workmanship (*kriyā-mādhuryam*—or does this mean "action and equanimity"?), produce in him a feeling of ecstasy (*praharṣa*). In Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya*, 13, we have *aho bhāvopapannatā*, said in praise of the picture of the gambling scene. Moreover, it is just because emotional states are represented in painting that the Viṣṇudharmottara more than once insists that a knowledge of dancing, that is to say of gesture language, is essential to the understanding of painting; and in fact, the painting of Ajaṇṭa certainly reveals a familiarity with *abhinaya*.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Śilparatna*, LXIV, 143, 145, 146 *rasa-citra*, evidently corresponding to our *nāgara* painting, is described. It is not to be put on plastered walls; and in this kind of painting, where "the amorous and other *rasas* are shown", "the likeness appears as though reflected in a mirror, for it is of the size and shape of a gong".

Few or no examples of painting in a circular field have survived, but there are cases in which lovers are represented gazing into a circular mirror, in which their faces are shown reflected, side by side, and certainly "fully occupying the available space". Oval compositions are found, and perhaps my *Rajput Painting*, pl. LXIV, should be cited, as not far from circular in form, and filled by the large faces right up to the margin. However, the busts in circular medallions on the Bhārhut railings best correspond to the description. I do not understand *nadyana* and have left it untranslated. For Nāgara painting, see also my articles in *Rūpam*, Nos. 37, 40.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the constant instruction for representations of deities, which are to be "ornés de toutes les parures"; "qu'on peigne . . . des guirlandes étincelantes et des colliers de perles", etc.

<sup>8</sup> The word *vartanā* does not occur in the *Śilparatna*, LXIV. But we have *śyāmatā* and *ujjvalatā*, which may correspond to *vattana* and *ujjotana* of

something more than the mere application of color, following the outlining, for which we have other terms, e. g. *rañjitaḥ* in Pañcadaśī, VI, 3, *varṇa-vinyāsa* in the Śilparatna, LXIV, 111, 114 and the v. l. *varṇakarma* in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra. In the present

the Atthasālinī. I add the passage, which is not quite correctly rendered in my version in the *Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee Memorial Volume*: "114. In the application (*vinyase*) of any color, *śyāmatā* (is obtained) by density (of the color itself) and *ujjvalatā* by thinness, and thus in the case of any color whatever, according to the teaching. 115. But wherever there is light yellow, there dark red (should be used to produce *śyāmatā*). And round the edges the skilful artist should draw (an outline) in lampblack with the fine (brush)". In the Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa of Bhāsa, III, 1, a painting is made brighter (*ujjvalatara*) by rubbing, proof that the colors were well laid on; most likely the word is used here in an ordinary, non-technical sense. *Vartanā* occurs also in the list of "Eight Limbs" of painting in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, LXXI, 14, 15. The printed text, with the editor's queries and suggested emendations reads:

*vartikā (pra)thamam teṣāṃ dvitīyaṃ bhūmibandhanam*  
*lekhyam tṛtīyaṃ syād rekhākarmāṇi (vartatemīha lakṣaṇam?)*  
*pañcamam (karṣakarma cca?) śaṣṭham syād vartanākramaḥ*  
*saptamam (lekhanam lekhakaraṇam dvicakarma?) tathāṣṭamam*

For *karṣakarma cca* the editor suggests *varṇakarma syāt*. An edition might be offered tentatively as follows:

*vartikā prathamam teṣāṃ dvitīyaṃ bhūmibandhanam*  
*tṛtīyaṃ rekhākarmāṇi caturtham lakṣaṇam bhavet*  
*pañcamam karṣakarma syūṣ śaṣṭham syād vartanākramaḥ*  
*saptamam lekhakaraṇam dvicakarma tathāṣṭamam*

In any case the eight stages seem to be *vartikā*, *bhūmibandhana*, *rekhākarma* (or *°karmāṇi*), *lakṣaṇa*, *karṣakarma* (or, by emendation, *varṇakarma*), *vartanākrama*, *lekhakaraṇa*, and *dvicakarma* (by emendation for *dvicakarma*), that is: the brush, preparation(?) or delimitation(?) of the ground, outlining, iconographical details, "attracting" (or, by emendation, "coloring"), plastic shading, erasures(?), and second or final outline.

The word *varṇakarma* would be quite intelligible, and in the right sequence: as to *karṣakarma*, which could have been better understood in the third rather than the fifth place, it should be noted that Skr. *kṛṣ* and its derivatives, like Hindi *khūchnā* and English "draw", have the double sense of drawing in the sense of dragging, attracting, and of delineating, so that while *varṇa-karma* is probable, and perhaps more intelligible, *karṣa-karma* is by no means an impossible reading. In the Śrī-Khasarpapa-Lokeśvara-Sādhana of Anupamarakṣita, cited by Foucher, *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, II, 11, note, the painter's activity is conceived of as an attracting [*ākaraṇa*]; by the proper mental and technical procedure he draws to himself [*ākaraṣati*] the form that is required, from however distant a source. For a curious discussion of *ākaraṇa* and the psychology of "drawing out" a picture, see Bhagavan Das, *Pranavavāda*, II, p. 359 f.



text, a painting which has *vartanā* throughout is said to be good, one without any *vartanā* middling, and one with *vartanā* in one part and not in another, bad. In the Atthasālinī, para. 202, pts. ed., p. 64, *vattana* and *ujjotana* occur together at the end of a short list of steps in the procedure of painting, and here it is hardly possible to interpret *ujjotana* otherwise than as "adding high lights".<sup>9</sup> There can scarcely be any doubt, then, that *vartanā* means "shading"; not of course a shading intended to reproduce effects of light and shade, but that kind of shading of receding areas which produces an effect of roundness or relief, and is actually to be seen at Ajañṭā (where the use of high lights on projecting areas is also met with) and still survives in a limited way in the early Rajput paintings. Now as to the kinds of shading, I cannot find the use of lines (*rekhā*) at Ajañṭā, but it is common in Pahārī painting, where grassy surfaces are represented. The dotted shading (*bindujā*) is constantly found in early Rajput painting, where it is used to indicate the armpit shadow. The faint or subtle shading designated by the word *āhāirikā* or *āhāivikā* (*āirikā* in the Kramrisch version is certainly mistaken), etymologically inscrutable, can only logically refer to a wash or tone such as is constantly used at Ajañṭā to create the relief effect, and survives to a small degree in Rajput painting.<sup>10</sup>

As to the faults, merits, and ornaments of painting, Indian authors are fond of lists of this kind; cf. the "Six Limbs" of the Kāmasūtra Commentary, and the "Eight Limbs" of the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, and as in the case of the *alaṅkāra* litera-

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I take this opportunity to correct my former rendering of *pāryuṣamārdvān*, in the Śilparatna, LXIV, 113, to "strength and softness of color". Verses 117, 119 give us *ati* "strong", *madhya* "medium", and *mṛdu*, "soft", with reference to different reds. Also, in verse 143-6, the three kinds of painting are painting on plastered walls, *rasa-citra*, and *dhūli-citra*, and in verse 146 the words "is called a picture (*citraṁ*)" should be deleted.

<sup>9</sup> See my "Early Text on Indian Painting", *Eastern Art*, III, 1931, p. 219, note 8. It has been suggested by Binyon (Yazdani, *Ajanta*, p. 15) that the high lights in Ajañṭā painting look as if they had been "put in" by "wiping out". If this were actually the case, the meaning here given to *ujjotana* would be completely reconciled with that of *ujjvalatara* "brighter" as the result of rubbing, in the Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa of Bhāsa, III, 1. See also note 8, above.

<sup>10</sup> As to "wash" cf. Goloubew, *Ajanta, les peintures de la première grotte*, 1927, p. 22, "des demi-teintes à peine perceptibles", and for an example of such shading in later work, my *Rajput Painting*, pl. IX.

ture, such lists provide the elementary headings of criticism or instruction.<sup>11</sup> But *bhūṣaṇa* as one of several ornaments (*bhūṣaṇa*) of painting is so to speak a category within a category, and doubtless means not merely jewellery but fine attire in general, and it is rather amusing to find it said that this is what most attracts women in a painting.

*Sthāna*, "pose", refers to points of view, frontal, profile, profile perdu, etc., described in detail in the present text, Ch. XXXIX, and in the *Śilparatna*, Ch. LXIV. *Pramāṇa*, "ideal proportion", expressed specifically in *tāla*, *tālamāna*, etc., implies the canons of proportion proper to the various types of gods or men, and is thus tantamount to the *rūpa-bheda* or "distinction of types" in the "Six Limbs"; for the general aesthetic significance of *pramāṇa* Masson-Oursel's admirable essay should be consulted.<sup>12</sup> *Mādhurya* or *madhuratva*) "sweetness" is one of the *guṇas* of painting, just as it is in poetry, *Kāvya*, where it is "the establishment of *rasa* in the word and in the theme" (*vāci vastuny api rasasthitiḥ*, *Kāvya-dārśa*, I, 51); in other words, in poetry it is a two-fold quality, a sound-sweetness (*śabda-mādhurya*) and a meaning-sweetness (*artha*-). The former consists in *śruti-anupāsa*, the repetition of congenitally related sounds, i. e., sounds belonging to the same *sthāna* or mode of articulation; the latter is essentially "propriety", viz., absence of vulgarity or provincialism (*grāmatyā*) and of what is unpleasant or unpropitious (*aśhila*). These ideas are perfectly intelligible when applied to painting, where we should

<sup>11</sup> Not only are the technical terms of *alamkāra* applicable and actually applied to the criticism of painting, but certain of these terms seem to reflect a visual origin, a painter's vocabulary. Thus *sthāna* as a "mode" of sound is not merely analogous in fact to a "given palette" in painting, but the designation *savarṇa*, "related in color" is actually applied by Pāṇini I, 1, 9, to such modes of sound. In both cases adherence to the mode is an economy of effort and so produces a more powerful effect. And when in the *alamkāra* literature we find this economy distinguished from monotony, the language of color is again employed: the repetition of the same sounds, designated *varṇānuprāsa* or *varṇānvṛtti*, literally, repetition of the same color, or monotony.

<sup>12</sup> "Une connexion dans l'esthétique et la philosophie de l'Inde", *RAA*, II, 1925; translated in *Rūpam*, 27/28 (metaphysical *pramāṇa* is "correction de savoir-pensée", aesthetic *pramāṇa*, "correction de savoir-faire"; it may be added that *pramāṇa* means primarily "criterion of truth", and those possessing *pramāṇa* in themselves, and therefore competent to the tasting of *rasa*, are *pramātr*; etymologically and in significance, these words are connected with English "measure").

only have to replace *śabda-mādhurya* by *rūpa-mādhurya*, retaining *artha-mādhurya* unchanged. There are, however, other meanings of *mādhurya* in *alamkāra* which would also be appropriate to painting. *Mādhurya* in the sense of equanimity ("only slight change of demeanor even in great agitation", *Daśarūpa*, II, 18) is one of the characteristic qualities of the hero; in the sense of sweetness ("not harshness", *ibid.*, II, 55), of the heroine. These ideas in painting might be rendered as "nobility" and "gentleness"; one cannot deny that these qualities appear in the divine and heroic types of Indian painting.

*Sukumāra* in v. 2 should perhaps be rendered "harmonious"; in *alamkāra* it means "absence of harshness in the use mostly of soft syllables", or positively stated, "tenderness resulting from the combination of soft and harsh sounds in due proportion, the former predominating". We have seen that with the concepts of sound and "color" in the above definitions, the result is perfectly intelligible, and we get an exact meaning for a word otherwise only vaguely significant.

*Sādrśya*, "resemblance", "likeness", is mentioned also in the Six and the Eight Limbs, and it is beyond question that "likeness" was thought of as an essential in painting.<sup>13</sup> In the same way modern Indian writers sometimes speak of an image as the "portrait" of a deity, and the word *pratibimba* conveys much the same idea. Yet Indian painting is actually no more realistic or illusionistic than any other category of Indian art. We shall have to ask what is meant by "likeness"; likeness to what? Plainly, the object depicted is to be recognizable. In Govinda's discussion of the identification of the actor and hero on the stage, this is said to be of four kinds, exemplified by the thoughts "He is Rāma", "he is Rāma, and yet not really Rāma", "he may or may not be Rāma", and "he is like (*sādrśyadhiḥ*) Rāma". But the representation of the hero is elsewhere<sup>14</sup> also called *anukṛī*, *anukāra*, etc., "imitation", and this is fourfold: *āṅgika*, *vācika*, *āhārya*, and *sāttvika*, and here we know positively that the first three are highly conventional, and only the fourth has to do with a natural suitability of the actor for the part. *Sādrśya* and *pramāṇa* are constantly mentioned together in one and the same list of requir-

<sup>13</sup> In Ch. XLII, 48, we have *citra sādrśyakaraṇam pradhānam prakīrtitam*.

<sup>14</sup> *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*, VI, 2 and *Daśarūpa*, I, 7. Cf. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, I, 113 *lokaerttānukaraṇam*, and *ib.* I, 122 *svabhāvalokasya . . . abhidhiyate*.

ments, and therefore cannot be interpreted as of contradictory meaning. So also in verse 2 above, where *kiñcilloka* must include *devaloka*, *sādrśya* cannot be interpreted as "naturalistic". Even in portraiture, where we know from innumerable instances that recognizable likeness was required, the idea of the type predominates: to give one instance, in the *Vikramacarita* (*HOS* XXVII, 30-31), where a painting is made of Queen Bhānumatī, to serve as a substitute for her personal presence,<sup>15</sup> the painter, allowed to see her, recognizes that she is a *padminī*, and so *padminīlakṣaṇayuktam vililekha . . .*; the likeness is called *rūpam* and even *svārūpam*, nevertheless *evamuktalakṣaṇayuktam tasya rūpam likhitvā . . .* If we understood *sādrśya* then to mean "illusion" or "realism",<sup>16</sup> verisimilitude of any crude or naïve sort, we should be contradicting all that we know of the oriental conception of art.

The meaning of *pakṣa-vṛddhi*, or rather *kṣaya-vṛddhi*, requires a more lengthy discussion in connection with the fuller account of *kṣaya* and *vṛddhi* in our text, Ch. XXXIX, on which I have already spent much labor, and which is to be published later. *Durānītam*, possibly for *durānatam*, "lack of patience or humility", must refer in any case to some moral defect in the painter; there are innumerable texts in which it is insisted that the *Śilpin* must be of good moral character, and even require from him particular abstinences as a preparation for his work.<sup>17</sup> As to the priming and polishing of the surface to be painted, cf. *Śilparatna*, LXIV, 34, etc. If *abhigupta* means "secluded", this is quite intelligible, for it is often specified that the painter should work in solitude. In verse 15, *suvarṇa* is rendered "bright-colored", since an outline in gold is not likely to be meant. In verse 8, *aviruddhatva* is taken in the sense of "unimpeded", "unrestrained" (given by Monier Williams); but it is perhaps worth remarking that *viruddhatva* "inconsistency" is a *doṣa* in *alankāra*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the similar requirements and methods of the Tanjur Citralakṣaṇa, Ch. I, B. Laufer, *Dokumente der indischen Kunst*, I, 1913, pp. 127-144.

<sup>16</sup> We find not *sādrśya* but *sadrśī* and *susadrśī* for "exact likeness" in portraiture (*Svapnavāsavadatta* VI, 13; *Mṛcchakaṭikā* IV, 1).

<sup>17</sup> See my *Dance of Śiva*, 1918, p. 26; the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Ch. I (Lalou, p. 30) "seated on a seat of *kuśa* grass, . . . he takes a fine brush in his hand, and with a tranquil heart, paints the *paṭa*".

<sup>18</sup> If we could rely on *aviruddha* in *Daśarūpa* IV. 43, where it clearly means "inconsistent", it might be best to substitute "inconsistent" or "inappropriate" for "exaggerated" in the rendering of the verse.

## I 彝 AS EQUIVALENT TO TAO 道

HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE FUNDAMENTAL nature of the Weltanschauung of the early Chinese has long been a subject of debate. Many have presented evidence of varying validity to show that primitive monotheism is the ancestor from which later Chinese religious and philosophical ideas have descended, if not, as some assert, degenerated. Others, myself among them, have felt that we are to look for the most significant aspect of the background of later Chinese ideas to that peculiarly Chinese concept of harmony and order, cosmic and social, commonly known as *tao*, which developed, perhaps, out of the conditions of agricultural village life.

Facts which challenge the latter position in an interesting manner have been brought to my attention recently by Professor H. W. Luce. He took as his point of departure the criticism of the *chün wên* text of the *Shu ching* made by Ku Chieh-kang in the *Ku shih pien*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Luce finds that the character *tao* does not occur with any religious or philosophical content either in any of the books of the *Shu ching* which Ku Chieh-kang pronounces genuine, or in the entirety of the *Shih ching*. He raises the question, therefore, of whether the *tao* idea may really be considered to have played an important rôle at an early date, and to be as old as *T'ien* and *Shang Ti*.

Judging by criteria of language and ideology, Ku chieh-kang holds only thirteen books of the *Chün wên shang shu* to be demonstrably old and genuine.<sup>2</sup> It is not the purpose of this paper to examine the validity of that position. The problems which envelop the *Shu ching* are perhaps the knottiest in all Chinese literature, and they are not likely to be solved in a moment. They have been

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<sup>1</sup> This work is being translated into English by Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. Only the first volume of the translation, consisting of Ku Chieh-kang's autobiographical preface, has yet been published.

<sup>2</sup> These books, listed and discussed in Chapter 47, are: *P'an k'eng*; *Ta kao*; *K'ang kao*; *Chiu kao*; *Tzū ts'ai*; *Chao kao*; *Lê kao*; *To shih*; *To fang*; *Lü hsing*; *Wên hou chih ming*; *Pei shih*; *Ch'in shih*.

As he indicates in his preface, Ku accords with traditional scholarship in rejecting the *Ku wên shang shu*.

studied for more than a thousand years by Chinese scholars who had, even in the eighth century, most of what is essential in that thing which we fancy that we invented yesterday, and call "modern, Western, scientific, critical, historical method". But let us assume, for the sake of discussion, that Ku Chieh-kang's conclusions are perfectly correct, and that *tao* does not occur, with any religious or philosophical meaning, either in the old and genuine portions of the *Shu ching*<sup>3</sup> or in the whole of the *Shih ching*. The latter circumstance need not surprise us. *Tao*, in the sense in which we are using it, is a technical philosophical term; the *Shih* is composed almost entirely of lyric or ritual poems. Only three odes seem definitely philosophical in character.<sup>4</sup> As to the *Shu*, it is worthy of note that seven of the thirteen supposedly genuine books are public speeches or public announcements, in which we would ordinarily expect less of technical philosophical language than in utterances of another character.<sup>5</sup> Further, it is an interesting fact that every one of these books is ascribed to the utterance of an hereditary nobleman. Not one of them seems to be the utterance of a minister.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, if our interest is philosophical rather than lexical, it is relatively unimportant whether the character *tao* appears in these documents or not, but it is of the utmost importance to know if the ideas which that character represents, as a philosophical concept, are present. No very searching perusal of this material is needed to show that they are abundantly in evidence. The ritual

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<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to point out that one of the criteria by which Ku selected the thirteen chapters which he pronounces genuine is that of ideology. And it seems probable, from his discussion, that the occurrence of the term *tao*, with its connotations as a technical term of the *Ju chia*, would have seemed to him a reason for excluding the document in which it occurred from this selection. If this be true, then the non-occurrence of *tao*, as a philosophical and religious concept, is not a striking coincidence but merely a premeditated result. This does not, of course, in any way reduce the importance of the fact that Ku Chieh-kang's research has, apparently, led him to believe that this term is associated with late, rather than early, materials.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Legge, James, *Chinese Classics, She king* (hereafter referred to simply as *Shih*), pp. 84, 93, 207.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Legge, *Chinese Classics, Shoo king* (hereafter referred to simply as *Shu*), pp. 220, 362, 453, 492, 588, 621, 626.

<sup>6</sup> Unless that category be stretched very greatly to include Chou Kung as regent.

portions of the *Shih* have them, to a very considerable degree, as their background; in our thirteen books of the *Shu* they are still more unmistakable.<sup>7</sup>

The question raised by Professor Luce, of the priority of *T'ien* and *Shang Ti*, on the one hand, or of the *tao* idea, on the other, is one which perhaps can never be solved. I have previously recorded my own tentative opinion that the latter idea, developing out of the agricultural village life with its peculiar premium on harmony and order, probably played a more important (though not necessarily earlier) part in the development of the Weltanschauung of the great mass of the Chinese people than did *T'ien* and *Shang Ti*. This selected text of the *Shu ching* does not seem calculated to alter this opinion. Here, *T'ien* and *Shang Ti* play the rôle of the supervisor who interferes little or not at all so long as the cosmic and moral harmony pursues the even tenor of its way. Men who further or hinder this harmony are rewarded<sup>8</sup> or punished<sup>9</sup> by them (or better, by it).<sup>10</sup> The greatest merit and the greatest guilt are acquired, not, as we should expect in a wholly theocentric literature, by religious or ritual acts, but rather by those of a social and moral nature. “. . . he wrought not that any sacrifices of fragrant virtue might ascend to heaven”.<sup>11</sup>

If this *tao* idea was greatly prevalent in the literature we are discussing, we are perhaps justified in expecting that it would have found therein some concrete terminological expression. It found not one, but several. Like the central conceptions of any philosophy, this idea is expressed, in Chinese literature generally, by many synonyms. 行 *hsing* (which is a component of several *ku wên* forms of *tao*) is used at least once in the *Shih* as the equivalent of the philosophic concept, *tao*; and is so explained by commentators.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Shu*, pp. 391, 392-3, 394-5, 411, 416, 418, 427, 443, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Shu*, pp. 405, 426, 613, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Shu*, pp. 362, 396-7, 401, 409, 429-31, 454-7, 459, 497, 499, 599, 610, etc.

<sup>10</sup> *T'ien* and *Shang Ti* are synonyms, with a single reference, in much, at least, of the early literature.

<sup>11</sup> *Shu*, p. 409. For evidence which might seem to contradict the view stated above, cf. *Shu*, pp. 427-8, 431.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Szü pu ts'ung k'an*, *Mao shih*, *chüan* 9, p. 1b. (Legge, *Shih*, p. 245). *Hsing* is here used as equivalent to what I should call the “third stage” of *tao*; see later discussion.

The phrase 天步 *T'ien pu* is used in the *Shih*<sup>13</sup> as the equivalent of the phrase *T'ien tao*; *pu* is quite appropriate, in form and meaning, to serve as a synonym for *tao*.<sup>14</sup> Other characters, such as *ti* 迪, might be so indicated. But in these selected thirteen books of the *Shu* it is the character *i* 彝 which fills to an outstanding degree the rôle usually assigned to the philosophic term *tao*. It will be necessary for us to consider the development in meaning of the terms *tao* and *i*.

It would no doubt be rash to lay out a scheme of the development of meaning to which all Chinese characters must conform. It is at least possible, however, to present a plan which may be demonstrated to be valid for these two characters.

I. The literal stage. (a) Noun. *Tao* is, in the first place, a very literal road, "with two ruts" according to a commentary on the *Chou li*.<sup>15</sup> (b) Verbalization. This may often be rendered into English by placing the preposition "to" before the noun; thus *tao*, "route", becomes "to route", i. e., to direct, to point out the road.<sup>16</sup>

II. Abstraction or metaphor. (a) Noun. *Tao* becomes a "path" of action, a course of conduct. (b) Verbalization. From "to route", *tao* becomes "to guide" in an intellectual sense, "to teach" (with this meaning often written 導).

III. Particularization. From being, in the second stage, a way of action, *tao* here becomes *the tao*, *the* way of action above all others.

IV. Hypostatization. This stage, reached by few characters, is probably attained by *tao* in philosophic Taoism. The ideal significance of this character, distilled by abstraction from its literal

<sup>13</sup> *Szü pu ts'ung k'an, Mao shih*, chüan 15, p. 10a. (Legge, *Shih*, p. 416).

<sup>14</sup> I am indebted to Mrs. Creel for calling this use of these characters, in the *Shih*, to my attention.

Mr. A. K. Chiu and his staff in the Chinese Library of Harvard University have been very generous of their aid with problems of bibliography encountered in preparing this paper.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted by Takata, 古箱篇, chüan 66, p. 25b.

<sup>16</sup> This substage may develop a specialized form, as, from 道, 導. Takata says that the *ku wên* ancestor of the latter form is "without doubt" of late origin (loc. cit.). If he is right, this provides a demonstrable chronology for this development. (The added element is, of course, a hand, evidently doing the directing.)



sense, is finally recondensed as *Tao*, which would seem to be some sort of cosmic substance or entity.

The character *i* develops according to this scheme, but appears to lack the fourth stage.

I. Literally, *i* denotes a wine vessel, made in various forms, which, according to abundant testimony, was a usual vessel of the ancestral temple, constantly used there. (I am not aware of any literal verbalization of this character).

II. (a) The idea of constancy, usualness, was abstracted, and *i* came also to mean "constant", "usual", "a rule", "a principle". (b) Verbally, *i* here means "to be constant", etc.

III. This character, like *tao*, was particularized, thus coming to mean *the* constant, *the* proper course of constant action. In this sense *i* appears often in the *Shu* with the function more usually assigned to *tao*, as will be demonstrated.

This demonstration will depend partly on commentaries, however, and commentators are frequently mistaken. Moreover, it is evident that the Han scholars, who did the first work of commentation, were by no means always clear as to the meaning of the ancient forms of the characters.<sup>17</sup> It is not enough, then, that commentators say that *i*, in the *Shu*, is used as equivalent to the third stage of *tao*. *Tao* is not used, in our selected thirteen books of the *Shu*, with any such highly developed meaning. Can the character *i* be shown to be old enough to have acquired this greatly extended meaning, by the time these books were written?

It occurs in what are considered, I believe, to be the oldest dated Chinese documents we possess. Lo Chên-yü identifies four forms of this character as occurring on Yin oracle bones.<sup>18</sup> And yet it must be granted that the supposed Yin forms of this character (see Fig. 1 of the Plate) bear little enough resemblance to the modern form with which they are equated (Fig. 6, Plate), or even to the Lesser Seal form given by the *Shuo wên* (Fig. 3). And the "explanation" of the *Shuo wên* merely confuses. It is: 宗廟常器也

<sup>17</sup> This is shown by the perplexity of K'ung An-kuo who was, according to tradition, unable to read the *ku wên* classics from the wall of Confucius' house without the aid of a coördinate text in more modern characters, and also by the corrections of the *Shuo Wên* which recent scholars have made on the basis of the Yin oracle bones (cf. L. C. Hopkins' "Pictographic Reconnaissances," in *JRAS*, 1917-28).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 殷虛文字類編, 第十三, p. 1b.

從系系綦也升持米器中實也卩聲 “A (the?) usual vessel of the ancestral temple. From: silk, silk thread; hands holding *the vessel*; rice, the thing in the vessel; and *chieh*, phonetic.” This is indeed a puzzle. What has silk thread to do with the matter? As for rice, *i* was used as a name for vessels of various sorts, but most of them seem to have been for liquor, not grain. And not even the experts seem able to evolve a historical phonetic for *i* from 卩.



Plate\*

\*<sup>19</sup> These characters are quoted from the following sources: Fig. 1, *ibid.*, loc. cit.; Figs. 2, 4, and 5, Takata, *op. cit.*, *chüan* 69, pp. 25a, 32a, and 32b; Fig. 3, *Shuo wên chieh tzü*; Figs. 6-10, *K'ang Hsi Dictionary*.

The reproductions are the work of Mr. Hsing-yuen Chang. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Chang for the gift of this product of his practised and versatile brush.

The true explanation leaves all this out of consideration. Taking together the Yin, the bronze, the Lesser Seal, and the modern form (see Figs. 1, 2, 3, 6), it can be seen that each of them depicts, according to its own conventions, two hands holding up a bird, and there is abundant expert confirmation of this analysis.<sup>20</sup> In the ordinary forms of this character there are four elements. The two hands (not always present; see Figs. 4, 10) are obvious. The head is variously represented; that in Fig. 4 looks most like the ancestor of the Seal and modern forms of this element. The 米 of Figs. 3, 6, 7, and 8 is apparently a combination of the cross which is formed by the leg of the bird crossing the line of its breast (Figs. 1, 2, 4), and the oblique dashes which appear in the

<sup>20</sup> For a collected presentation of scholarly opinions on this character, see the invaluable 說文解字詁林, pp. 5922-25.

middle of the left side of Fig. 2 (these dashes, varying in number, appear on very many of the bronze forms of this character; several explanations are given, but none which seems satisfactory. Are they drops of liquor from the poured libation?). Finally, the hour glass-like figure appearing at the juncture of tail and body in Figs. 2 and 4 becomes the conventionalized Seal representation for silk, in the middle of the right-hand side of Fig. 3, and the 系 of the modern character. The reader's ingenuity or Takata's 古籀篇 will serve to explain Figs. 7, 8, 9, and 10.<sup>21</sup>

Figure 5 obviously falls outside this scheme. It is a simple diagrammatic representation of a cup upheld by two hands; Takata publishes more than sixty different forms of characters which appear to be mere diagrams of bowls, basins, or cups, without any other element, which he equates with *i*. But the other forms which he shows, about four hundred twenty in number, are practically all based on the bird motif (these include the older forms of 夷, which is sometimes used for 彝; compare it with Fig. 1). From evidence which for lack of space can not be detailed, it is clear that this character, denoting at first a sacrificial vessel in the form of or inscribed with a bird,<sup>22</sup> was extended to stand for similar vessels of various forms. Still more loosely used, it was employed in speaking of vessels more properly known as 尊 *tsun*, 斚 *tui*, etc.<sup>23</sup> It seems to have been employed, at times, as a loose synonym for almost any vessel of the ancestral temple. Kuo P'ü, in his standard commentary on the *Er Ya*, says: 皆盛酒尊彝其總名 "*I* is a generic name for all *tsun* (libation cups?) for holding liquor".

It is plain, then, that *i* was widely used to refer to a large number of vessels, all, or nearly all, connected with the ritual of

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *chüan* 69, pp. 22-34; and *Pu i*, *chüan* 7, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. illustration in *T'zũ yüan* under 雞彝.

<sup>23</sup> An interesting monograph could be written on Chinese characters which originally denoted sacrificial vessels. Both of the above characters are now more common in their (probably) derived meanings of "honorable, to honor", and "generous", etc., than in their literal senses. Likewise 爵 *chüeh*, originally a ceremonial vessel, is now more common with the meaning of "rank, dignity". (Like *i*, the ancient form of *chüeh* is that of a bird; the *Shuo wen* gives it as a synonym of *i*. Cf. *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 781-3). All of these characters appear to carry over something of an honorific sense from their ceremonial associations.

the ancestral temple. And this bears directly on our discussion of its philosophic meaning. It is the thesis of this paper that *i* was used as a figure of speech to denote the idea more commonly expressed by the figurative use of *tao*. Since figures of speech are used to convey an unfamiliar idea through the medium of a familiar idea or object, they naturally employ terms which are familiar to the hearer or reader. When we bear in mind the great and constant importance of the ancestral temple in connection with almost every important detail of ancient Chinese government, we realize that *i* must have been a very familiar term. This gains greater force when we remember that each of the thirteen books of the *Shu* which Ku Chieh-kang approves as genuine is ascribed to a member of the nobility. Clearly, then, *i* is admirably suited to figurative use in its sense of usualness, regularity, constancy.

This character *i* occurs, according to Legge's index, but once in the *Shih ching*.<sup>24</sup> It occurs nineteen times in the text of the *Shu*, according to my own count, as follows: [1] *S. chüan* 5, p. 4b. (L.<sup>26</sup> p. 80) [2] *S. chüan* 8, p. 11b. (L. p. 189) [3] *S. chüan* 12, p. 2a (L. p. 323) [4] *S. chüan* 12, p. 2b (L. p. 323) [5] *S. chüan* 12, p. 3a. (L. p. 323) [6] *S. chüan* 12, p. 14b. (L. p. 332) [7] *S. chüan* 14, p. 8a. (L. p. 391) [8] *S. chüan* 14, p. 9a (L. p. 393) [9] *S. chüan* 14, p. 13a. (L. p. 397) [10] *S. chüan* 14, p. 16a. (L. p. 403) [11] *S. chüan* 14, p. 16b. (L. p. 403) [12] *S. chüan* 14, p. 20b. (L. p. 408) [13] *S. chüan* 15, p. 11b. (L. p. 431) [14] *S. chüan* 15, p. 17b. (L. p. 440) [15] *S. chüan* 15, p. 20b. (L. p. 442) [16] *S. chüan* 16, p. 24a. (L. p. 481) [17] *S. chüan* 17, p. 3a. (L. p. 489) [18] *S. chüan* 19, p. 16a. (L. p. 587) [19] *S. chüan* 19, p. 23a. (L. p. 597) (Hereafter, these passages will be denoted only by these numbers in brackets).

Of these twenty occurrences of *i* in the *Shih* and the *Shu*, only one [1] has the literal meaning of "a wine-vessel". Twice it is used with what has been called its "second stage" signification—"regular, ordinary, usual" [7] [10]. But in the remaining seventeen cases it is used on what has been called the "third stage"

<sup>24</sup> *Szŭ pu ts'ung k'an*, *Mao shih*, *chüan* 18, p. 17a. (Legge, *Shih*, p. 541).

<sup>25</sup> *Shih san ching chu su*, *Shang shu* (光緒十八年湖南寶慶務本書局重鐫).

<sup>26</sup> Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vol. III, *Shoo king*.

of its extended meaning, and is very nearly, and in some cases fully, identical in meaning with *tao* 道 as that character is used as a philosophic concept.

In one passage of the *Shu* [14],<sup>27</sup> and in what appears to be its only occurrence in the *Shih*,<sup>28</sup> *i* is stated by commentators to mean "the *tao*" or "the constant *tao*", in the philosophic sense of *tao*.

In fourteen passages<sup>29</sup> *i* is said to be equivalent to 常 *ch'ang*, which has, among others, the meanings "constant, ordinary, usual", and Legge often translates *i* in accordance with this. But there are difficulties. In such an exhortation as "Follow the *i* teachings of *Wên Wang*" [17], can *i* be supposed to mean "ordinary" or "usual"? Even Legge's translation "constant" needs elucidation; it can hardly mean "unceasing", and "unchanging" seems much too bare and restricted for the context. Again, four of these passages [2] [9] [12]<sup>30</sup> [13] inveigh against the 非 彝 "not *i*", saying "do not follow (ways that are) not *i*",<sup>31</sup> "do not use bad counsels or the not *i*". Commentators say that *i* here means *ch'ang*, but it leaves the sense uncompleted, if not mutilated, to translate *fei i* by "uncommon", "unusual", or "unchanging". It is said that "the *i* given by Heaven to our people will be greatly exhausted and disordered" [8];<sup>32</sup> are we to suppose that this endowment of Heaven is "ordinariness" or "invariability"? Twice [15] [19] there is mention of "helping the people's *i*"—not their "commonness", surely.

If we would understand the meaning of *i* in the *Shih* and the *Shu* we must understand the meaning of 常 *ch'ang*, for that character is more frequently used by commentators as a synonym

<sup>27</sup> Sung authority can also be quoted for this interpretation of *i* in this passage. Cf. Lin Chih Chi's *Shang shu ch'üan chieh*, in *T'ung chih t'ang ching chieh* (同治十二年粵東書局重刊), *chüan* 31, p. 9b.

<sup>28</sup> Loc. cit. The *T'zû yüan* quotes this passage under 秉彝, and explains: 謂秉受於天之常道也.

<sup>29</sup> [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [8] [9] [11] [12] [13] [15] [17] [18] [19].

<sup>30</sup> I am aware that Legge takes *fei i* here to mean "extraordinary", but I question the correctness of that translation. It seems doubtful grammatically (if one may use that adverb in writing of Chinese!) and commentation would seem to weigh against it. Cf. *Shih san ching, chüan* 14, p. 21b, col. 5; and Lin chih-ch'i, op. cit., *chüan* 29, p. 18a, col. 10-11.

<sup>31</sup> Legge translates "lawless ways" [2].

<sup>32</sup> Legge here translates *i* as "the laws of our nature."

for it, than is any other. But *ch'ang* is not a word of unadorned simplicity; it was itself used as a philosophical concept of no small connotation, early in Chinese literature, as a glance at the *K'ang Hsi Dictionary* will show. And the *T'zū yüan* gives, as the second meaning of *ch'ang*: 可常行之道也 "The (or a) *tao* which is worthy of being constantly practiced". Here again it is recognized that *ch'ang*, and therefore *i*, may be equivalent to *tao* as a philosophic concept.

In the remaining passage, *i* is said by commentators to mean 法 *fa*, which is sometimes translated "law". But "law" connotes a formal, enacted code, and is often a very misleading translation of *fa*, which, like *tao*, often means a "principle" or a "way of action". The Sanskrit word *dharma* (which also is often, and often wrongly, translated by "law") is commonly rendered into Chinese, in Buddhist works, by *fa*. But this procedure is occasionally varied by the use of *tao* instead of *fa* as a translation of *dharma*, and the *T'zū yüan* notes (under *fa*) that the Buddhists use *fa* as equivalent to *tao*. And the use of *i* in this passage [16] with *ti* 迪 (here meaning, according to the commentators, *tao*), as well as the context in general, indicates that this *i*, like its fellows, is used in a sense equivalent to that of *tao*.

What is this philosophic concept of "the *tao*"? In its largest aspect it is the cosmic action-pattern, the great principle in harmony with which all action whatsoever must properly take place, from which any deviation is abnormality. Its flavor may be suggested by comparison (if we bear in mind the merely approximate nature of such comparisons) with the Occidental idea of the Logos as that term is used by Heraclitus, the Stoics, and Hegel.<sup>33</sup> In relation to human activity "the *tao*" corresponds to our conception of the "fitting", the "right"; it is a standard of human conduct which is determined by comparison with the cosmic standard. As with us, so in Chinese this idea is expressed in more than one way. When the emphasis is on its regularity, it may be referred to as "the normal", "the constant", "the *i* 彝". If, instead, the stress is on the fact that it is a process, then "the course", "the way", "the *tao* 道", is a natural designation.

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<sup>33</sup> This comparison may not, of course, be extended to the use of Logos as it is harmonized with, if not subordinated to, a true monotheism in Philo and the patristic philosophy.

Thought is a more or less common activity of all men; philosophy is an avocation if not a profession. The language of thought may be vague and various; systematic philosophy is compelled to develop a technical terminology. As philosophy developed in China, the technical term *tao* was substituted for a whole cycle of less specific words and phrases, and even crowded out of use some terms which might, had destiny ordained, have flourished in its stead.<sup>34</sup> Among the latter was *i*.

That *tao* was used as a philosophical term at a very early date does not appear. The *Shih ching* seems to lack it, in this sense. In the *chin wên* text of the *Shu ching* I am unable to find it so used in any document dated earlier than the *Hung fan* 洪範, which is ascribed to the beginning of the *Chou* dynasty (it appears much earlier in the much doubted *Ku wên shang shu*). But most important of all is its absence from the text of the *I Ching*.<sup>35</sup> This text has been held to be the fountain-head of "Taoism"; we should be justified in expecting to find the term here if it was widely current in ancient China. The commentaries, or "Wings", which tradition ascribes to *Chou* date, are full of it. But examination shows that in the text itself the character *tao* occurs only four times,<sup>36</sup> and in each instance it appears with its literal or a slightly extended meaning; nowhere does it seem necessary to understand it as "the *tao*", in its philosophical or its "Taoist" sense.

On the other hand, when we come to the time of Confucius *tao* is beyond question a fully developed philosophical term of wide connotation. In *Kuan-tzü* it is a stock term, of very frequent occurrence. The same is true, of course, of the Four Books, and of

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<sup>34</sup> This substitution is plain in commentaries on the Classics. The age of commentation was, of course, well subsequent to the development of philosophical terminology, in which the commenting scholars were well schooled. Thus, though they explain a text quite innocent of the term *tao*, their comments bristle with it; they are simply rendering the sense into language more familiar and intelligible to themselves and their readers.

<sup>35</sup> I must confess myself in ignorance of the date and genuineness of this text. The traditions concerning it seem open to question, at least. But the text has been, in general, singularly free from attacks, even by the very critical. It was not, according to persistent tradition, burned under the Ch'in dynasty.

<sup>36</sup> *Shih San Ching*, *chüan* 2, pp. 15b, 19a; *chüan* 3, pp. 3a, 18b. Legge (*S.B.E.*, vol. XVI), pp. 76, 79, 93, 108.

Chinese literature, speaking generally, ever since the time of Confucius.

The history of *i* is a different one, which it is interesting to compare with that of *tao*. The story is complicated by the fact of its two writings, 彝 and 夷.<sup>37</sup> The latter character, possibly as equivalent to our *i*, occurs twice in the text of the *I Ching*<sup>38</sup> with the meanings of "ordinary" and "equal". In the *Shih*, *i* occurs only once,<sup>39</sup> but there it has its full philosophical content, equivalent to that of the character *tao*, which seems not itself to have risen to that height in the *Shih*. In the thirteen books of the *Shu ching* which Ku Chieh-kang pronounces genuine, *i* occurs in this exalted sense eight times. In the *Shu* as a whole

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<sup>37</sup> The confusion between these two characters is one which none of the several authorities I have consulted seems to clear up. There is no question that 夷 is sometimes used as exactly equivalent to 彝, even in the most extended meaning of the latter character, as the *K'ang Hsi Dictionary* attests, and a quotation from the *Shih* in *Mencius* proves. Cf. *Szü pu ts'ung kan: Mao shih*, *chüan* 18, p. 17a, and *Mêng-tz'ü*, *chüan* 11, p. 6b. (Legge, *C.C.*, *Shih*, p. 541, and *Mencius*, p. 403).

Thus far there is no difficulty; 夷 is easily derivable from Yin forms of the other character (cf. Fig. 1, Plate). But 夷 also means "barbarian", etc., and is plainly also another character, for which an elaborate derivation has been worked out. This character 夷 also is defined by 平 *p'ing*, meaning "even, level, tranquil", etc. Whence comes this meaning? The *Shuo Wen* says: 夷平也從大從弓東方之人也 "I means *p'ing*. Composed of *ta* (perhaps to be understood here as an old writing of *jên*, man) and *kung*, bow. It means the men of the eastern regions". Hsü tells us that *i* means *p'ing*, and then promptly forgets all about that and explains the character as meaning "barbarian". And so do other authorities, including Hopkins (*JRAS*, 1925, pp. 467-475). Takata says that 夷 was borrowed for 彝, on a phonetic basis, but he does not solve the present difficulty (op. cit., *chüan* 69, p. 34b).

The question may be stated thus: may we take it for granted that every occurrence of 夷 in the sense of "level, ordinary", etc., is an occurrence of 彝 in an altered form, or is it rather the case that this meaning is an extension from the sense of "barbarian"? This could happen, through the idea of vulgarity, etc. But in the absence of any positive evidence it seems probable that the former, rather than the latter assumption, is the correct one.

<sup>38</sup> *Shih san ching, Chou i*, *chüan* 6, pp. 3a and 12b. (Legge, *S.B.E.* vol. XVI, pp. 185 and 195).

<sup>39</sup> There are, however, several occurrences of 夷 which *may* be equivalent to this character.



it occurs nineteen times, sixteen of which have this philosophical content. But just at the time when the star of *tao* rises, that of *i* appears to set. *I* does not occur in the whole of the Four Books, even with its literal meaning, save in a direct quotation from the *Shih* in *Mencius*.<sup>40</sup> It does not seem to occur at all in the *Ch'un Ch'iu*,<sup>41</sup> nor in the *Li Chi* save in the literal sense of a sacrificial vessel and as meaning "common", "equal", "ordinary".<sup>42</sup>

In so far as our data warrant conclusion, they indicate that the conception we know as "the *tao*" is fundamental to Chinese thought at a very early period. But not until comparatively late did the influence of philosophic systematization cause the term, *tao*, to be used almost exclusively as its designation. This transition appears clearly in *Mencius*.<sup>43</sup> First, the older language is quoted from the *Shih*: "Since Heaven gave birth to the multitudes of people, there is a pattern for the conduct of their activities. The people hold to this *i*, and love its excellent virtue". But the comment which follows is in the newer idiom: "Confucius said: 'He who wrote this poem—he knew the *tao*!'"

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<sup>40</sup> This statement is based on examination of the indices to the Four Books in the following works:

Legge, *Chinese Classics*, vols. I and II; Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, vol. II, *Studium Classicorum*; Couvreur, *Les Quatre Livres*; Soothill, *The Analects of Confucius*.

<sup>41</sup> Legge's index (*C.C.* vol. V) does not list it.

<sup>42</sup> According to the index to Couvreur's *Li Ki*.

<sup>43</sup> *Szü pu ts'ung k'an, Méng-tzŭ, chüan* 11, p. 6b. (Legge, p. 403).

# NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE WEI SHU<sup>1</sup>

JAMES R. WARE  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IN THE GREAT storehouse of Chinese literary production probably the most widely known and the most highly valued collection is that called the Twenty-four Histories.<sup>2</sup> They are an indispensable source in Chinese studies, and must continually be at the hand of anyone who would do serious work in things Chinese. For the large part they are official histories of a dynasty, drawn up under the, or a, succeeding dynasty from the very archives of the dynasty in question, or from other compilations which were based directly upon those archives. Out of consideration for the great value which is laid upon these books it is fitting that we should look rather closely into the history of these histories themselves. The one of the twenty-four regarding which there are herewith presented some notes, which make no claim whatsoever to being exhaustive, is almost 1400 years old. For several centuries after its production it could have existed in manuscript copies only. It is the history of a dynasty which later ages have not considered to be a lawful possessor of the royal power; as a usurper, its example could not but be harmful to later generations: a reason, therefore, for neglecting, if not for taking deliberate measures to suppress its records. Furthermore, a mere glance at the list of the famous Twenty-four suffices to show that a first compilation of a dynasty's history did not always please later generations: therefore, there is not only a *History of the T'ang*,<sup>3</sup> but also an *Old History of the T'ang*<sup>4</sup>; not

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<sup>1</sup> 魏書 by Wei Shou 魏收, 506-572. *Pei shih* 北史 56, *Wei shu* 104, and *Pei Ch'i shu* 北齊書 37. The *Wei shu* (we shall see that there was more than one) are often called by later writers, for the sake of clarity, *Hou Wei shu* 後魏書. This dynasty is also known as the Northern Wei.

<sup>2</sup> 二十四史, edited in 1739. My references are to the *T'u shu chi ch'êng* 圖書集成 edition. For bibliographical notices to the individual histories see *Ssu k'u* . . . 45 and 46.

<sup>3</sup> 唐書 or 新唐書, compiled on imperial order by Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072, Giles 1592; *Sung shih* 宋史 319), and Sung Ch'i 宋祁 (998-1061, Giles 1828; *Sung shih* 284. 6a<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> 舊唐書 attributed to Liu Hsi 劉昫, 897-946, Giles 1307; *Hsin Wu tai shih* 新五代史 55; *Chiu Wu tai shih* 舊五代史 89. 5a<sup>9</sup>.

only a *History of the Five Dynasties*,<sup>5</sup> but also an *Old History of the Five Dynasties*.<sup>6</sup> We may, therefore, ask ourselves if the same thing could not have been true of the other histories, at least in part, for the Twenty-four do not include all the histories at the disposal of the historian. It is also worth knowing, if possible, what materials were at hand for the writing of a history; how the work was received by the author's contemporaries; what was the judgment of later generations. Such are the questions which will receive a partial answer in these notes.

At first view it would seem that we have rather abundant material to describe the early history of our text.<sup>7</sup> There should be in the *Wei shu* itself an autobiography of the author. Since he was a prominent individual under the Northern Ch'i, his complete biography should appear in the official history of that dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Further, there is the *History of the Northern Dynasties*,<sup>9</sup> of which the Northern or Later Wei was one, compiled early under the T'ang. But these three sources are reduced immediately to one when we learn that the autobiography had disappeared from the *Wei shu* by the time it reached the hands of the Sung editors, and that the *Pei Ch'i shu* was pieced together early under the Sung from various sources. Consequently, we must take as our basic source the *Pei shih*, and use the two other histories merely to control textual readings.<sup>9a</sup>

Our chief debt of gratitude for the materials in most of our histories is to those officials of the imperial secretariat who were charged with recording their dynasty's doings from day to day. It was among the archives of his own dynasty that Wei Shou passed the major part of his official career, and such was the position held

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<sup>5</sup> See note 4. By Ou-yang Hsiu, see note 3.

<sup>6</sup> See note 4. By Hsieh Ch'ü-ch'eng 薛居正 (912-981, Giles 728; *Sung shih* 264) and others.

<sup>7</sup> See note 1.

<sup>8</sup> See note 1. By Li Pai-yao 李百藥, 565-648, Giles 1182; *Hsin T'ang shu* 102. 4a<sup>11</sup>, *Chiu T'ang shu* 72. 3b<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> See note 1. By Li Yen-shou 李延壽, 7th cent., Giles 1232; *Hsin T'ang shu* 102. 9a<sup>6</sup>, *Chiu T'ang shu* 73. 6b<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>9a</sup> Unless, however, we are to assume that Wei Shou's history had become hopelessly confused with the *Pei shih* and other histories of the Northern Wei before it reached the hands of the Sung editors, it could be easily proved, I believe, that the *Pei shih* had borrowed widely from Wei Shou's *Wei shu*.

by most of those to whom Wei Shou acknowledges his debt. Early under the Wei,<sup>10</sup> Têng Yüan<sup>11</sup> compiled a history of Tai<sup>12</sup> in ten odd chapters. After this Ts'ui Hao<sup>13</sup> was the official historian and his work was continued in their respective generations by Yu Ya,<sup>14</sup> Kao Yün,<sup>15</sup> Ch'êng Chün,<sup>16</sup> Li Piao,<sup>17</sup> Ts'ui Kuang,<sup>18</sup> and Li Yen-chih.<sup>19</sup> It was usual in these writings to employ the annalistic method, but Li Piao was the first to divide the material into annals, tables, essays, and biographies.<sup>20</sup>

Sometime<sup>21</sup> between 500 and 514 Hsing Luan<sup>22</sup> was ordered to compile an account of the doings of the emperor Kao-tsu, who reigned from 471-499. Hsing Luan's history went down merely thru the year 490, so Ts'ui Hung<sup>23</sup> and Wang Tsun-yeh<sup>24</sup> were ordered to continue the account down thru 515. This book related matters in detail. There was also at Wei Shou's disposal a book on

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<sup>10</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 4a<sup>2</sup>, *Wei shu* 104. 3b<sup>2</sup>, *Pei Ch'i shu* 37. 3a<sup>1</sup> 始魏初鄧淵 [*Pei shih* reads 彥海, his *tzü*, because 淵 was taboo] 撰代記十餘卷。其後崔浩典史。游 [insert 雅, 高 from *Wei shu*] 允, 程駿, 李彪, 崔光, 李琰之郎知 [*Wei shu* omits last two characters. *Pei shih* reads for them 徒], 世修其業。浩為編年體, 彪始分作紀, 表, 志, 傳。

<sup>11</sup> *Wei shu* 24. 12a<sup>4</sup>; *Pei shih* 21. 13b<sup>2</sup>. *Tzū*, Yen-hai. Put to death under T'ai-tsu 太祖 who was killed in 409. His history consisted of mere annals of the emperor's doings: *Wei shu* 24. 12a<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> An old name for northern Shensi and Hopei (Chihli), the land first controlled by the Northern Wei.

<sup>13</sup> 381-450, Giles 2035. He was 70 *à la chinoise* when put to death (see *Wei shu* 114. 5a<sup>12</sup>). *Wei shu* 35, *Pei shih* 21. 3a.

<sup>14</sup> *Tzū*, Po-tu 伯度; *Wei shu* 54; *Pei shih* 34; died 461.

<sup>15</sup> 390-487, Giles 970; *Wei shu* 48; *Pei shih* 31.

<sup>16</sup> *Tzū*, Lin-chü 麟駒. Died at 72 *à la chinoise*; probably 424-495; *Wei shu* 60. 6b<sup>9</sup>; *Pei shih* 40. 4b<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> *Tzū*, Tao-ku 道固; 444-501; *Wei shu* 62, *Pei shih* 40. 5b<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> 450-523, Giles 2039; *Wei shu* 67, *Pei shih* 44.

<sup>19</sup> Died 533; *Wei shu* 82. This is one of the lost chapters of the *Wei shu*; the source of our present text is unknown.

<sup>20</sup> His history, however, was never completed. See *Wei shu* 62. 8b<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 4a<sup>3</sup>; *Wei shu* 104. 3b<sup>3</sup>; *Pei Ch'i shu* 37. 3a<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> 464-514; *tzū*, Hung-pin 洪賓; *Wei shu* 65; *Pei shih* 43.

<sup>23</sup> Son of Ts'ui Kuang; v. note 18. *Wei shu* 67. 7a<sup>9</sup>; *Pei shih* 44. 5a<sup>9</sup>. Probably died about 527; *Wei shu* 67. 7b<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Wei shu* 38. 6b<sup>12</sup>. A contemporary of Ts'ui Kuang and Ts'ui Hung. See notes 18 and 23.

the imperial agnates in forty<sup>25</sup> *chüan* by Prince Hui-yeh<sup>26</sup> of Chi-yin,<sup>27</sup> as well as a three *chüan* history of the emperor Chuang (528-530) by Wên Tzū-shêng.<sup>28</sup> In the last years<sup>29</sup> of the Wei, Shan Wei<sup>30</sup> and Ch'í Chün<sup>31</sup> were in charge of the records. They lived at a time when every day was filled with important happenings, but the record which they kept was lamentably scanty and proved to be totally unreliable to the later historian.

These then are some of the materials mentioned, probably by Wei Shou himself, as actually available for the writing of a history of the Later or Northern Wei. In 551 there was issued the decree<sup>32</sup> which set our author to work at an undertaking which was to assure the transmission of his name to posterity. In order to comply with his desire to complete quickly an exact history of the Wei, the emperor relieved him of his other official duties that he might devote full time to his task. Kao Lung-chih,<sup>33</sup> Prince of P'ing-yüan,<sup>34</sup> was named general supervisor of the compilation, but, as Wei Shou does not forget to remind us, it was a position which he held in name only. Wei Shou chose as his helpers<sup>34a</sup> the follow-

<sup>25</sup> *Pei shih* 17. 4a<sup>8</sup>; also restored texts: *Wei shu* 19A. 4a<sup>8</sup>; *Pei Ch'í shu* 28. 2b<sup>11</sup>. 撰魏藩王家世號為辨宗 [Ws adds 室] 錄。The Sung preface to the *Wei shu* says "thirty *chüan*". This book is not mentioned in Wei Shou's biography.

<sup>26</sup> 濟陰王暉業 *Pei shih* 17. 3b; restored texts: *Wei shu* 19A. 4a<sup>1</sup>; *Pei Ch'í shu* 28. 2b<sup>7</sup>. Cf. also Lo Chên-yü's 羅振玉. *Wei shu tsung shih chuan chu* 魏書宗室傳注 (see Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 24; 79-86) ch. 6. 7b. Executed probably in 551: *Pei shih* 17. 4a<sup>8</sup>, *Pei Ch'í shu* 28. 2b<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Under the Manchus this was the district of Ts'ao chou 曹州 in S. W. Shantung. A recent atlas (1929) calls it Ko-tsê 荷澤.

<sup>28</sup> 溫子昇莊帝紀 495-550 (?); Giles 2307; *Pei shih* 83. 3b<sup>8</sup> and restored *Wei shu* 85. 3a<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> *Pei shih* 50. 8b<sup>4</sup> and restored *Wei shu* 81. 2a<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> 山偉, *tzü*, Chung-ts'ai 仲才. Probably died about 546. *Pei shih* 50. 8a<sup>8</sup>; *Wei shu* 81. 1b<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> 綦儁, *tzü*, Piao-hsien 標顯; contemporary of Shan Wei. *Pei shih* 50. 7b<sup>8</sup>; *Wei shu* 81.

<sup>32</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 3b<sup>13</sup>; and restored *Wei shu* 104. 3a<sup>18</sup>, *Pei Ch'í shu* 37. 2b<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Tzū, Yen-hsing 延興. Died between 551-559; *Pei shih* 54. 1b<sup>7</sup> and *Pei Ch'í shu* 18. 2a<sup>8</sup>. *Pei shih* 56. 4a<sup>1</sup>: 詔平原王高隆之總監之。署名而已。

<sup>34</sup> In the neighborhood of Chi-nan 濟南 in Shantung.

<sup>34a</sup> In addition to the names mentioned here, probably from Wei Shou's

ing: Fang Yen-you,<sup>35</sup> Hsin Yüan-chih,<sup>36</sup> Tiao Jou,<sup>37</sup> P'ei Ang-chih,<sup>38</sup> and Kao Hsiao-kan.<sup>39</sup>

The whole work, with the exception of the essays, was completed and presented to the throne in the third month of 554. Later on, in the autumn of the same year, Wei Shou was appointed governor of Liang-chou,<sup>40</sup> but, feeling that his work on the history was not yet finished, he begged and obtained permission to finish the task, and it was in the eleventh month of the same year that the ten essays were presented to the emperor.<sup>41</sup> Of this whole history 35 introductions 例, 25 prefaces 序, and 94 appreciations 論, as well as two petitions 表 and the memorial 啓 of presentation of the essays, were from the hand of Wei Shou himself.<sup>42</sup>

autobiography, the *Pei shih* (56. 4a<sup>10</sup>) speaks of a Sui Chung-jang 眭仲讓, whom the *Pei Ch'i shu* (37. 3a<sup>9</sup>) calls Mu Yüan-jang 睦元讓. For lack of further evidence it is impossible to determine this individual's name.

<sup>35</sup> 房延祐, unknown to me outside Wei Shou's biography.

<sup>36</sup> 辛元植, unknown to me outside this mention, and a brief notice in *Pei shih* 50. 4a<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> 刁柔; *tzü*, Tzū-wên 子溫; 501-556; *Pei Ch'i shu* 44. 3a<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> 裴昂之, unknown outside this mention.

<sup>39</sup> 高孝幹, unknown outside this mention.

<sup>40</sup> 梁州, just south of modern K'ai-fêng 開封 in Honan.

<sup>41</sup> The memorial of presentation of the ten essays is signed by Wei Shou, Hsin Yüan-chih, Tiao Jou, Kao Hsiao-kan, and Ch'i-wu Huai wên 蔡母懷文 who seems to have been known chiefly as a fortune teller: *Pei shih* 89. 8b<sup>8</sup>, and *Pei Ch'i shu* 49. 3b<sup>4</sup>.

The history was divided as follows: first installment 110 *chüan*, composed of 12 紀 and 92 列傳; second installment 20 ch. of 志 divided as follows: 4 天象, 3 地形, 2 律歷, 4 禮樂, 1 食貨, 1 刑罰, 2 靈徵, 2 官氏, 1 釋老. Today *li yüeh* is divided into 4 *chüan* of *li* and one of *yüeh*; the *kuan* and *shih* are in one ch.

It is not clear how Wei Shou divided these into ten essays.

<sup>42</sup> The "introductions" and "prefaces" probably refer to the introductory and explanatory remarks found at the beginnings of certain groups of biographies and at the beginnings of the essays and of the first chapter of annals. The "appreciations" are probably the remarks of the historian at the end of the biographies, 史臣曰. The two "petitions" (if they were "tables" they should have formed an integral part of the history and thus augmented the number of *chüan* of the whole) have probably been lost; and the memorial is undoubtedly that of the presentation of the essays, which is found in my edition of the *Wei shu* at the end of *chüan* 9

It was our author's misfortune, however, to compile the Wei shu too soon after the fall of the dynasty. Many men were living whose fathers and grand-fathers had played what were, in the eyes of their descendants at least, important rôles in their day. Quite naturally, then, there rose a storm of protest at what would seem to many personal insult if a slight error were made in genealogy or precedence, or if an only too just estimate were made of a forbear's action. To check the fury of protests even imperial action was necessary, but, tho some were beaten and others suffered death in prison,<sup>43</sup> the resentment continued to grow in intensity; people called the work by its correct pronunciation, only they wrote it with characters meaning Filthy History, *wei shu* 穢書; and this resentment knew no satisfaction until it had not only forced two revisions of the work, but had also violated the very grave of the author and scattered his dust to the four winds of heaven.<sup>44</sup>

For the future history of his book one might say that Wei Shou was also unfortunate in being forced to adopt, as the rightful successor of the Northern Wei (398-534), the Eastern Wei (534-550) whose territory was inherited by the Northern Ch'i (550-577), of whom our author was a subject. Later generations were not willing, in every instance, to recall to mind the circumstances under which Wei Shou lived, so, when the Sui and T'ang succeeded to the empire and ruled from their capital at Ch'ang-an, and, quite naturally, considered as legitimate only those immediate predecessors who had ruled from the same spot, Wei Shou's history became unorthodox.

Some of the specific charges of favoritism and error brought against the history are listed in the *Pei shih*, 56.4a<sup>13</sup>-4b; but it would be little worth our while to mention the trivialities there recorded. It was definitely shown by the critics that there were errors in the history, and, as a consequence, the book was not issued until the author had revised his work.<sup>45</sup> It seems probable that

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(probably due to the figure 10 which appears on the margin), but which occupies in other editions its correct position at the beginning of *chüan* 105.

The complete history was in 130 *chüan*; the memorial accompanying the essays mentions 131 because it includes also the table of contents.

<sup>43</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 4b<sup>9</sup>; Lu P'ei 盧裴 in *Pei shih* 30. 11a<sup>13</sup>; Li Shu 李庶 in *Pei Ch'i shu* 35. 2a<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 7b<sup>4</sup>, *Pei Ch'i shu* 37. 6b<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 4b<sup>10</sup>.

the history was not available outside the privy council until about 560-561.<sup>46</sup> This first revision, however, was deemed insufficient, and Wei Shou was again forced to return to his task sometime between 565 and the time of his death in 572; probably much nearer the former date.<sup>47</sup>

For the later history of the *Wei shu* we must consult the preface to the work written by the Sung editors, and the Ch'ien-lung bibliographers, *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu* 四庫全書總目, chüan 45.

The later history of Wei Shou's work is obscured and complicated by the publication of other histories covering in large part the same period, and most certainly borrowing much from their predecessor's work. Emperor Wên 文 (590-604) of the Sui ordered Wei T'an,<sup>48</sup> Yen Chih-t'ui,<sup>49</sup> and Hsin Tê-yüan<sup>50</sup> to compile their *Wei shu*, which was in 92 chüan, and which considered the Western Wei to be the legitimate successor to the Northern Wei. But the emperor Yang 煬 (605-616) being dissatisfied with their production, ordered Yang Su<sup>51</sup> to compile another history along with P'an Hui,<sup>52</sup> Ch'ü Liang,<sup>53</sup> Ou-yang Hsün,<sup>54</sup> and Lu Ts'ung-tien;<sup>55</sup> but Yang Su died before its completion, and

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<sup>46</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 5b: 皇建元年 [560] . . . 帝以魏史未行, 詔收更加研審。收奉詔, 頗有改正, 及詔行魏史。收以爲直置祕閣, 外人無由得見。於是命送一本付并省, 一本付鄴下, 任人寫之。太寧元年 [561] . . .

<sup>47</sup> *Pei shih* 56. 6a<sup>9</sup>: 天統元年 (565) . . . (long extract from Wei Shou's 枕中篇) 7a<sup>9</sup>: 其後群臣多言, 魏書不實, 武成復敕更審。收又廻換 . . .

<sup>48</sup> 魏澹; *tzü*, Yen-shên 彥深; died under Sui, aged 65 à la chinoise. *Sui shu* 58. 1b<sup>4</sup>; *Pei shih* 56. 9b<sup>9</sup>. See note 59.

<sup>49</sup> 顏之推, 531-595, Giles 2463. *Pei shih* 83. 8a<sup>3</sup>; *Pei Ch'i shu* 45. 7b<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> 辛德源; *tzü*, Hsiao-chi 孝基. *Sui shu* 58. 3b<sup>12</sup>, *Pei shih* 50. 4a<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> 楊素, died 606, Giles 2408. *Sui shu* 48, *Pei shih* 41. 11b<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> 潘徽; *tzü*, Po-yen 伯彥. *Sui shu* 76. 6b<sup>9</sup>, *Pei shih* 83. 15b<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> 褚亮, *tzü*, Hsi ming 希明. Died at 88 à la chinoise sometime between 642-649 (*Chiu T'ang shu* 72. 8a<sup>3</sup>): *T'ang shu* 102. 5a<sup>6</sup>, *Chiu T'ang shu* 72. 6b<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> 歐陽詢; 557-645; Giles 1594; *T'ang shu* 198. 4b<sup>13</sup> (died at 85), *Chiu T'ang shu* 189A. 4a<sup>10</sup> (died at 80 odd).

<sup>55</sup> 陸從典; *tzü*, Yu-i 由儀; *Ch'ên shu* 30. 2a<sup>6</sup>. Mentioned in *Sui*



the work was stopped.<sup>56</sup> In 622 Ch'ên Shu-ta<sup>57</sup> and sixteen others were to compile histories for the Northern Wei and some of the other shorter dynasties, but early in the period 627-649 the Wei history was abandoned. Sometime during the period 650-683 a grandson of Wei T'an's, Wei K'o-chi,<sup>58</sup> wrote ten essays in 15 *chüan* which were appended to his forbear's history.<sup>59</sup> In addition, the chapter on literature in the *T'ang shu* mentions a *Hou Wei shu* in 100 *chüan*<sup>60</sup> by Chang T'ai-su<sup>61</sup> and a *Yüan Wei shu* in 30 *chüan*<sup>62</sup> by P'ei An-shih,<sup>63</sup> but by the time of the Sung editors these books<sup>64</sup> were no longer extant.

When the time came to edit<sup>65</sup> the *Wei shu* it was found that

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*Shu* 76. 8a.<sup>13</sup>; died at 57 *à la chinoise* probably near end of Sui (589-617) for his father died at 50 *à la chinoise* in 586 (*Ch'ên shu* 陳書 10. 2a<sup>9</sup>), and Ts'ung-tien was the third son.

<sup>56</sup> *Sui shu* 76. 8a.<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> 陳叔達; *tzü*, Tzu-ts'ung 子聰; died 635: *Chiu T'ang shu* 61. 2b<sup>8</sup>, *T'ang shu* 100, *Ch'ên shu* 28. 7a<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> 魏克己. See Sung preface. The only other mention I have found of this man is in the *Shên hsi t'ung chih* 陝西通志 of 1725, *chüan* 21. 22a<sup>7</sup>, where he is assigned to the period 618-626, [唐] 高祖.

<sup>59</sup> Therefore, *Chiu T'ang shu* 46. 11a<sup>2</sup> and *T'ang shu* 58. 1b<sup>9</sup> say that it has 107 *chüan*. Why does *Sui shu* 33. 1b<sup>11</sup> say 100 *chüan*? Cf. *chüan* 1 of Chang Tsung-yüan's 章宗源 (d. 1800) *Sui ching chi chih k'ao cheng* 隋經籍志考證.

<sup>60</sup> *Chiu T'ang shu* 46. 11a<sup>2</sup>; *T'ang shu* 58. 2a<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> 張太素 (biography reads Ta 大); brief mention in *Chiu T'ang shu* 68. 6a<sup>9</sup>, where 業 is error for 素.

<sup>62</sup> 元魏書 *T'ang shu* 58. 2a<sup>11</sup>. 'Yüan' was the family name adopted by the Northern or Later Wei on February 2, 496 (*Wei shu* 7B. 8b<sup>6</sup>). Previously it was T'o-pa 拓跋.

<sup>63</sup> 裴安時 *T'ang shu* 58. 2a<sup>11</sup> says his *tzü* is Shih-chih 適之 and that within the period 847-860 he was a minor official 小尹 in Chiang-ling 江陵 (in south central Hupei; the Manchu dynasty's Ching-chou 荊州).

<sup>64</sup> See note 67.

<sup>65</sup> The editors' preface is signed by four *ming*: Pan 攸, Shu 恕, Tao 壽, and Tsu-yü 祖禹. The *Ssu k'u* . . . identifies two of these persons as Liu Shu 劉恕, and Fan Tsu-yü 范祖禹.

Liu Shu, Giles 1353, where we should probably read 1052-1098 for Giles' 1052-1078, for his biography, *Sung shih* 444. 4b<sup>1</sup>, says he died at 47 *à la chinoise*.

roughly 30 *chüan*<sup>66</sup> were either incomplete or lacking. The editors then had to draw upon other sources to fill in the gaps and present a readable history; unfortunately, they have merely marked in their index what chapters were incomplete 不全 or lacking 闕; they have not told us upon what sources they drew to fill in the lacunae.<sup>67</sup>

Owing to this silence the textual critics have been faced with the problem of finding out for themselves what texts were available to the editors. The evidence is contradicting and confusing, and we must content ourselves for the time with a mere statement of the difficulties. The *Ch'ung wên tsung mu*<sup>68</sup> (1034-1041) mentions one *chüan* of the annals from Wei T'an's history and two *chüan*

Fan Tsu-yü, 1041-1098, Giles 545; *Sung shih* 337.5b<sup>7</sup>.

The other two remain to be identified.

<sup>66</sup> Exactly 29 *chüan* are so marked, and should, therefore, be used with caution. See under *Hou Wei shu* in *chüan* 4 of the *Chih chai shu lu chieh t'í* 直齋書錄解題 of Ch'ên Chên-sun 陳振孫, probably second quarter of 13th cent.; see *Ssu k'u* . . . 85.

<sup>67</sup> It is impossible to tell clearly from the Sung preface whether or not they possessed a copy of Wei T'an's *Wei shu*. Consequently the expression 'these books' at the end of the preceding paragraph is ambiguous, like the Chinese. I am inclined to feel that the 皆 of the Chinese includes only Chang T'ai-su's and P'ei An-shih's work; but, on the other hand, the editors of the *Ssu k'u* . . . make it include Wei T'an's work also. Where did our Sung editors get the information that the essays in Wei T'an's history were by his grandson K'o-chi? See notes 19 and 58.

<sup>68</sup> 崇文總目 *chüan* 2; catalog of imperial collection compiled between 1034-1041 (v. *Ssu k'u* . . . *chüan* 85). Fragments collected and edited by Ch'ien T'ung 錢侗, whose preface is dated 1799, and others; available in the *Yüeh ya t'ang ts'ung shu* 粵樵堂叢書 and the *Hou chih pu tsu chai ts'ung shu* 後知不足齋叢書 in editions of 5 *chüan*. According to the *Wên lan ko mu so yin* 文瀾閣目索引 (1929) the *Ssu k'u* . . . 's copy (which was drawn from the *Yung lo ta tien*) has twenty *chüan*, but this must be a misprint (cf. *Ssü k'u* . . . 85 and *Tz'ü-yüan*, s. v.).

It should be noted that (according to *Ssu k'u* . . . 85) already in the second quarter of the twelfth century, one hundred years after the production of the catalog, Ch'eng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (see note 70) found this catalog in such poor condition as to be unusable.

We need a careful study of the history of this catalog; for it remains to be proved that it is still a document valid for the second quarter of the eleventh century.

of the essays from Chang T'ai-su's work, as well as Wei Shou's *Hou Wei shu* in 130 *chüan*. From this catalog's remarks (which are preserved in the *Wên hsien t'ung k'ao* <sup>69</sup>) to these entries we learn that these are the only known remains of T'ai-su's and T'an's work; further, that Wei Shou's history and Li Yen-shou's *Pei shih* had become mixed, and that of the former only ninety odd p'ien 篇 were left. This catalog should have been available to the Sung editors of the *Wei shu*.

Chêng Ch'iao's (1104-1162?)<sup>70</sup> *T'ung chih* 通志, *chüan* 65, indicates the existence of Wei Shou's, Wei T'an's, and P'ei An-shih's histories complete, and the preservation of two *chüan* on astronomy 天文 from Chang T'ai-su's work.

The *Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i* <sup>71</sup> quotes a *Ch'ung hsing shu mu* <sup>72</sup> to the effect that the *T'ai tsung chi* 太宗紀 of Wei Shou's book was lost and replaced by the corresponding chapter from Wei T'an's; that two essays were lost and replaced from Chang T'ai-su's work; that only these three *chüan* remained of Wei T'an's and Chang T'ai-su's works.

The Ch'ing cataloguers go on to point out the resemblances and differences between the *T'ai ping yü lan* <sup>73</sup> and our present *Wei shu*. The encyclopedia's account of T'ai-tsung agrees with our *Wei shu* <sup>74</sup> with the exception of a statement from the body of the text which is not in our *Wei shu* but appears in the *Pei shih*, altho the rest of the text differs from the *Pei shih* account. The encyclopedia's account of the emperor Hsiao-ching 孝靜 differs from our present *Wei shu*.<sup>75</sup> The account of the empresses in the encyclopedia agrees substantially with the corresponding chapter in our

<sup>69</sup> 文獻通考 13th cent. encyclopedia by Ma Tuan-lin 馬端臨.

<sup>70</sup> See *T'oung Pao* 24. 13; 27. 93.

<sup>71</sup> See note 66.

<sup>72</sup> This is probably the *Chung hsing kuan ko shu mu* 中興館閣書目 by Ch'ên K'uei 陳馬葵, listed in *chüan* 8 of the *Chih chai shu lu chieh t'i*. This catalog was presented in 1178; probably now lost. Ch'ên K'uei, 1128-1203; *tsü*, Shu-chin 叔進; *Sung shih* 393. 10a<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> 太平御覽, completed in 938 (Wylie's Notes ... p. 183); about 100 years before the editing of our present *Wei shu*.

The *T'ai ping* ... constantly quotes a *Hou Wei shu*, but none is indicated in its 引書目.

<sup>74</sup> *T'ai ping* ... 102; *Wei shu* 3; *Pei shih* 1. 10<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> *T'ai ping* ... 104; *Wei shu* 12.

present history <sup>76</sup> with the exception that it includes the empresses of the Western Wei. The biographies of Ts'ui Yü 崔彧<sup>77</sup> and Chiang Shao-yu 蔣少游<sup>78</sup> and the account of western countries 西域<sup>79</sup> in our Wei shu are said to be from the *Pei shih*. In the two replaced chapters <sup>80</sup> of the 天象 the Ch'ing cataloguers have noticed T'ang taboos.

It is evident, I believe, that a further elucidation of this problem can come only from a minute and careful comparative study of our present *Wei shu* and *Pei shih* with the T'ang and early Sung encyclopedias. Some good old-fashioned Chinese scholar would grant a boon to the study of the most important of the Northern Dynasties by preparing a minute commentary to the *Wei shu* in the grand old style.

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<sup>76</sup> *T'ai p'ing* . . . 139-140; *Wei shu* 13.

<sup>77</sup> *Wei shu* 91.12a<sup>8</sup>; *Pei shih* 24.1b<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> *Wei shu* 91.12a<sup>10</sup>; *Pei shih* 90.7b<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> *Wei shu* 102; *Pei shih* 97.

<sup>80</sup> *Wei shu* 105, parts 4 and 5.

## ON THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDA WORDS

G. L. SCHANZLIN

THE AIM of this paper is to examine several words of the Munda languages of India that are apparently related to words of the Mon-Khmer languages of Indo-China and their congeners on the same peninsula and beyond the sea. Such a relationship has been claimed by Father W. Schmidt, M. Sylvain Lévi, M. J. Przyluski, Rev. P. O. Boddington, and others. These comparisons should be classified and equated to find the laws governing the differentiation of the languages involved. Some of these relationships may be genetic or only instances of borrowing.

Karpāsa "cotton".

M. Przyluski, in an article on "Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan Languages", published in English with other papers in a book entitled *Aryan and Pre-Aryan in India* (Calcutta, 1929), has traced the word *karpāsa* back to Austric forms, such as Khmer *amβas*, *amβāh*; <sup>a</sup> Bahnar *kōpaih*; Malay *kapas*; Javanese *kapas*; and other forms in related languages. In all these cases the stem, beginning with a labial, has a prefix *ka* (or *kam*) which appears to have been reduced in Khmer, leaving only the remnant *am*.

The most characteristic item of M. Przyluski's table of words, however, is an un-prefixed form which he gives, Stieng *pahi*. Curiously also, one of the Munda languages, Santali, has a word which shows this pure form of the stem of the word *karpāsa*, namely the Santali word *paha*, meaning a "ball of carded cotton". This is all the more remarkable since the Santali word for the plant, which also has the meaning "cotton wool", is *kaskom*.

As Santali can not have been in touch with the Mon-Khmer languages of Farther India since the time of the original separation, it is not likely that it can have borrowed the word *paha* from any of the Mon-Khmer languages or any other Indo-Chinese language. But since *pahi* belongs to one of the farthestmost eastern tribes of

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<sup>a</sup> Lassen mentions a river, *Ambastes*, and a nation, the Ambastai, likely the river Mekong in Cambodia, or at least the Song-koi, in Tonquin. The classical geographers had a way of calling nations by the products produced by them. Cf. the silken China—*ser*, the river *Ser*, the island *Seria*.

the Mon-Khmer and related groups, this possibility is excluded. It must be noted, however, that Bahnar (see above), the other of the two backward branches of the Mon-Khmer group, has the prefixed form *köpaih*. Whether the Malay form *kapas* is borrowed from an Indo-Chinese original or from the Sanskrit *karpāsa* (itself borrowed, perhaps, in some Middle-Indian form like the Pali *kappāsa*), in either case we have to account for the prefix *ka*, which seems to point to Indo-China.

When the Indo-Aryans borrowed cotton and its name from some ancient branch of the Mon-Khmers, they must have borrowed a prefixed form which became the basis of the Sanskrit form *karpāsa*. Such a word has been lost from the Munda languages if they ever had it. (There does not seem to be, with only one exception, any Munda form having the prefix *ka*, no matter how closely such a stem form may resemble related words of the Mon-Khmer group.) That the *ka* in the Santali word *kaskom* is a case, is not likely. The corresponding word for cotton in Mundari is *kadsom* or *katsom* (Nottrott, *Grammar of the Kol Language*, 1905). These two forms show the instability of such words in languages not fixed by rules of writing. There is, I believe, only one other case of a form of this word for "cotton" beginning with a *k*, namely the Khasi *k'ah*.

M. Przyluski reasons that the origin of all these forms lies in the fact that cotton wool has to be carded before it is spun, and that these forms have their primary source in a verb form *poh* or *pah* "to shoot" and a noun *panam* "bow" (here the bow used for carding cotton). If he is right, the initial *p* of these forms must have changed to *k* in the Munda and Khasi forms.<sup>1</sup>

That there is room for forms ending in *t*, like the stem of the suffixed form *katsom* (see above, and compare also Przyluski's reference to the Sanskrit words *paṭa* and *karpāṭa* "cotton stuff"), could be supported by the following words: Tangkhul Naga *vat* "cotton"; roñ *vat* "cotton plant". The ending *om* in *kaskom* and *katsom* is frequent in Munda, being attached to a considerable

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<sup>1</sup> Przyluski suggests deriving the Santali word *kaskom* from a stem *kas* meaning "cotton wool", and *kom* the "cotton plant." But I doubt whether *kaskom* can be derived that way, or whether any Austric compounds occur at all. *Kaskom*, if my theory of endings is correct, naturally dissolves into *pah* > *kas-k-om*. Thus also the *kas* in *kaskom* does not belong to the ancient *ka* prefixes, but is *radical*. The medial *k* is a very common infix.

number of words, some of which seem common to both the Munda and the Mon-Khmer group of languages.

That a word with an initial *p* was the stem word for the term for cotton used in other parts of India, seems indicated by the Telugu words *pati* "cotton", *pati chitto* "cotton plant" (Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*, p. 520). This word, in view of its second consonant, probably belongs to the group of *paṭa* and *karpāṭa*.

### Domesticated Animals

In the Santali words, *sadom* "horse"; *merom* "goat", it may be that the ending *om* signifies something like the English suffixes *dom* or *hood*, a sort of generalizing term, meaning a group or herd. Perhaps the Santali word *mihū* "calf", belongs to the same category. *Mihū* in Santali, is used a good deal with *merom* "goat", *mihū merom* means "small cattle in general". (In a similar way *kāra*, buffalo, is grouped with *bheṛa*, sheep.)

The ending *om* is a common one in the Munda languages, and also in some of the neighboring aboriginal languages, as the following list will show. In all cases it seems to carry with it the meaning of "masses, groups, materials", and perhaps also of "human commodities". The Munda languages have borrowed from modern Indian languages the following words, adding in each case, their own ending, *om*: Santali *disom* "land"; Santali *catom* "umbrella"; Santali *damkom* "dues"; Santali *lodam*, *odam* "otter"; Kurku *didom* "milk". This mode of Santalizing loan words may point the way to a similar process in earlier borrowings.

The following words form a small percentage of the Santali vocabulary of terms designating mostly natural objects, all ending in *um*, *am*, and *om*. Of such Austric words the following show this characteristic in both the Indian and the Indo-Chinese forms:

(1) Water: Khasi *ūm*, *ām*, *ōm* "water"; Khasi *sum* "to bathe"; Mon *hum dait* "to bathe"; Santali *um hor* "a Christian" (baptized Santal), *um amin* "ceremonial bathing".

(2) Oil: Central Sakai *senam*; Santali *sunum*; Kurku *sunūm*; cf. spoken Tibetan *nam*.

(3) Name: Mon *neme*, *yemu*; Khmer *jhmoḥ*; Korwa *yam*; Kurku *jūmū*; Santali *ūum*, *ūtum*.

(4) Year: Mon *hnām*; (Lepcha *nam*); Khasi *snem*; (Santali *serma*; (Tāngkhul Naga) *ziñkum*; (Mikir *ninkan*).

(5) Blood: Mon *chim*; Khmer *ghām*; Stieng *maham*; Khasi *snām*; Gadaba *eyam*; Santali *mayam*.

(6) Crab: Mon *khatām*; Khmer *ktā*; Bahnar *kōtam*, Stieng *tam*; Santali *katkom*; Khasi *tham*.

To come back to the *om*, *um*, and *am* endings in the Munda forms of certain words that belong to a larger group of languages, I have been wondering whether such words are really Munda in origin. It has been shown above how Santali has added its nasal endings to Hindi words, i. e. words of rather recent origin. This fact seems to throw some suspicion on words belonging to older layers of the language, like *sadom* "horse", and *merom* "goat", in one of the above lists. If it was possible for Santali to borrow such words as Hindi *des* "country", Santalizing the word into *disom* "country", it would not have been impossible for other words in Santali ending in *um* to go through a similar development after having been borrowed from neighboring languages.

There are also a number of other, mostly tropical, things indicated by words which seem to have a rather extended reach around and across the Bay of Bengal, indicating old, at least cultural, relationships.

(1) Coconut palm: Mon *preo*; Telugu *chuloo kabri* (cf. also *copra*, the dried coconut product).

(2) Betel palm: Santali *guṇ*; Bengali *guyā*; Khasi *kwāi*; Tāngkhul *kwāthi*; Mikir *kove*; Mon *kamāo*.

(3) Mustard: Mon *me rai*; Santali *rai turi*; Bengali *sādā rai* ("white mustard"), *torī* ("mustard").

(4) Wood apple: Mon *kivet*; Santali, *kaṭ bel*, *kōc bel*.

(5) Elephant: The Austric languages seem to have possessed a common word for elephant: Khmer *tārij*; Bahnar *ruih*; Stieng *rūēh*; Savara *ra*.

(6) Buffalo (carabao): Palaung Lang. *krak*, *kra*; Malay *kerbau*; Santali *kada* (*kara*). There is another aboriginal word for buffalo, both in India and also in Malaysia): Kherwan *sail* ("bison"); Tāngkhul *silui*; Mikir *chelong*.

(7) Dog: Palaung languages *sau*, *so*, *hsao*; Stieng *sou*; Khasi *kseu*; (Mikir *methan* [prefix *me*?], R. E. Neighbor, *Vocabulary of English and Mikir*); Santali *seta*; Mund *sita*; etc.



(8) Elephant (see Bishop, "The Elephant and its Ivory in Ancient China", *JAOS* 41. 290 ff.): Siamese *chang*; Shan States *tsang*; Northern China *hsiang*; Cantonese *tsöng*; Annamese *tong*; Mon *coin*; Palaung, *sāñ*; (compare here Austric list, under No. 5). This group did not extend into India proper. Mr. Bishop thinks that it is of Shan origin.

(9) Snake: Malay *ular*; Santali *lar*; Mundari *lur-bing* "the rainbow serpent".

(10) Iron: Mon *pasoā*; Malay *besi*; Hodgson's list, *kasway*; (perhaps also Santali *pasra* "smithy").

(11) Rice: Nicobar *arōc*, *arōś*; Malay *bras*, *beras*; Khmer *sruw*; Mon *srō*, *srō*; Santali *horo*, *huru*.

(12) Teak tree: Malabari *tayk* (Lassen); Gondhi *tekām*; Telugu *teek*; Siamese *sak*; Bengali *sāgun*, *sēgun*; Santali *sagun*, *sagwan*; (cf. also Hindi, *sakwa*, the sal tree).

There is still another class of Santali words like *ul* "mango", *tor* "squirrel", *kul* "tiger" (with *kla* "tiger" in Mon). These are clearly shortened forms. Schmidt has pointed out how such words have been cut down and are now the monosyllabic remnants of former dissyllabic words, with the remaining first syllable strengthened by lengthening the vowel. What they were originally, whether Munda stems or borrowings from other languages, is a problem which still awaits investigation.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*A Comparative Study of the Literatures of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.* By T. ERIC PEET. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1929. London: HUMPHREY MILFORD, 1931. 8vo; pp. vii + 136.

As the author observes in his preface, it is difficult to find a suitable title for a book of this character. The study is not comparative in the sense that it is devoted to the relation existing between the literatures in question, but only in that of comparing their scope and their aesthetic appeal to the modern reader. Being himself a distinguished Egyptologist, it is not surprising that Professor Peet shows a tendency to exaggerate the importance of Egyptian literature. However, it must be said that he has evidently tried very hard to be fair. Aesthetically, Egyptian literature is undoubtedly somewhat superior to Mesopotamian, just as is true of Egyptian art. The book is exceedingly well written, and makes delightful reading.

It goes without saying that Biblical scholars and Assyriologists will dissent from some of his statements; such dissent is in no way a criticism, since no two scholars of distinction will agree on all questions of dating literary productions. It is hardly fair to compare Genesis with the *Iliad*, since the former is a prose reflection of a Hebrew epic which must go back into the Bronze Age, while the latter is original. Herodotus represents the infancy of Greek historiography, while the contemporary Malachi belongs to the decadence of prophecy. The Song of Songs is, in its present form, not much older than Theocritus, it is true, but the lyrics which it contains are nearly all much older; the atmosphere of the Songs is that of the early Monarchy. The author greatly exaggerates the originality of the King James Version. As a matter of fact, this version is full of Hebraisms, and owes much of its value for the formation of later English style precisely to its syntactic simplicity and its freedom from the Latinisms which once threatened to suffocate English prose. Stopford Brooke and others have called attention to the remarkable similarity between Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon style in many important respects. It is, therefore, somewhat

misleading to compare the translations of modern scholars from Egyptian and Babylonian with the translations also made in modern times from Hebrew literature, to the disadvantage of the latter literature.

There are very few errors and equally few serious omissions. On p. 41 the fairy tales of the Westcar Papyrus, actually written in a vulgarizing Middle Egyptian, are said to be in the same language as the Story of the Two Brothers and the Story of the Foredoomed Prince, both of which are in New Egyptian. On p. 96 it is not quite correct to say that no Babylonian love lyrics are known to us. A catalogue of love songs, over forty in number, was found by the German excavators at Assur, and has been published by Ebeling, in the *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung*, I, 3. While only the first line of each song is preserved, the total number of lines is very respectable, and enables us to make a very good comparison with similar lines in the Song of Songs.

We owe Professor Peet a debt of gratitude for his sketch of the subject of ancient Oriental literature in such charming and yet impartial form.

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*Some Tombs of Tell en-Nasbeh.* By WILLIAM FREDERIC BADÈ.  
Palestine Institute Publication, No. 2. Berkeley (California),  
1931. Pp. 63.

This brochure is the second instalment of Badè's preliminary report on his work at Tell en-Nasbeh, just seven miles north of Jerusalem. In it he describes the results of his examination of some tombs in the vicinity of the mound, to whose necropolis they belonged. The description is clear and generally adequate, while the twenty-three plates (numbered continuously with the text) provide numerous well-drawn specimens of pottery, as well as a number of photographs of the contents of the tombs.

On pp. 8-12 the author makes some useful observations with regard to the form of the tombs and the character of their remains when discovered. The first tomb illustrated (plate XIII!) is Hellenistic in date, but can hardly be dated so precisely as between 275 and 250 B. C. There are too few and too ordinary pieces to warrant a date more precise than somewhere in the third or early second century.

Tomb 3 (pp. 16-18, plates XIV-XV) belongs to the first half of Early Iron II, but not to the very beginning of this period. Badè first assigned it to about 800 B. C., following Fisher; he now dates it about 900-850 B. C. I should adopt his first date, and assign it to the period 850-750 B. C., with the proviso that an examination of the pottery itself would be necessary before a more exact dating could safely be given. The reason for my later dating is that all the pieces are characteristic of the fully developed EI II except the rounded saucer lamps, of which there are six. The latest discoveries at Samaria, agreeing with the results of our third campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim, have shown that the ninth century was a period of transition in ceramics, and that the pottery of the period 950-850 is fairly homogeneous, and bears almost as much resemblance to the earlier as to the later pottery. Badè is correct in rejecting the Iron Age chronology of Macalister's final publication, as now shown definitively by the first campaign at Beth-zur. Up to about 1908 Macalister's chronology was essentially correct, but after that year he began reducing it, until in his *Gezer* he offers dates which are almost invariably from one to three centuries too low. The polished black juglet of EI I has the same type of burnished surface as that of EI II, but the shape is more graceful, and the neck is much longer, while the handle joins it below the mouth; the type is well illustrated by the first eight vases on plate XVII. Tomb 5 (pp. 18-33 and plates XVI-XXIII) is correctly assigned to EI I (1200-900 B. C.), but the date assigned on p. 28, B. C. 1150-950, is too high, in my judgment. The pottery is very characteristic throughout of the third phase of EI I ( $B_3$  at Tell Beit Mirsim) and is later, on the whole, than the period of Saul at Gibeah. I should assign the tomb to about 1000-850 B. C., with the same proviso as before.

The scarabs found in this tomb agree entirely with the pottery. All three belong to the period between the end of the Nineteenth and the early part of the Twenty-second Dynasty. The two apparent exceptions are not really so late as Pieper has suggested. No. 1331 does not represent a crocodile with its tail hanging down, but the '3 lizard. For an identical lizard, in the same position on the scarab, see Hall, *Scarabs in the British Museum*, p. 246, No. 2463, which he dates in the Twenty-second Dynasty. No. 1332 is a decadent scarab of Tuthmosis III, and cannot be dated exactly.

*Excavations at Kish.* Vol. III, 1925-7. By L. CH. WATELIN and S. LANGDON. Paris: GEUTHNER, 1930. Pp. iii + 20, with XVI plates.

In this little volume Watelin, Field Director of the Herbert Weld and Field Museum of Natural History Expedition to Mesopotamia, has given a brief description of a large Neo-Babylonian temple found at Kish and believed by Langdon to be Ehursagkalama. Stamped bricks show that it was built by Nebuchadnezzar and later repaired by Nabonidus. The complete absence of any reference to this work in the inscriptions of the former suggests that it was undertaken toward the end of his reign. The ground-plan of the main temple is very much like that of Neo-Babylonian temples excavated by Koldewey at Babylon, as Watelin observes.

Langdon includes copies of some selected tablets of various dates, mostly contracts. On pp. 17-9 he offers a transcription and translation of a new brick of Merodach-baladan. There are a number of errors, due partly to the carelessness of the original cuneiform scribe. In line 2 *ti-kip* (?) *ri-ša-an an-du-ni-ti* should be *ti-ib-ki* (?) *re-ša-an eli-ni-ti*, reading *TA* for *du*. In line 3 read *u-še-pis-su* (!) *iqiṣ*. In line 6 read *a-na qiṣti li-qis-su a-na damiq-ti* (*SI[G<sub>5</sub>-G]A-ti*).

W. F. ALBRIGHT.

Johns Hopkins University.

*Babylon—Die heilige Stadt.* By ECKHARD UNGER. Berlin and Leipzig: WALTER DE GRUYTER & Co., 1931. xv + 382 pp.

It is an indication of the great advance which has been made in Mesopotamian archaeology when a book such as the one under review can be prepared. That so much has become known of the character of a city which had lain buried for many centuries is truly marvelous. Source material has been used to great advantage and hence an excellent compendium of all that has thus far been discovered concerning the city of Babylon has been produced. The collection and organization of all this data has been an arduous task, but there should be ample compensation in the knowledge that almost the very structure of an ancient metropolis has been portrayed with so much detail. An attractive view of "Die heilige

Babylon Nebukadnezers" is used as a frontispiece. There is no exaggeration in stating that it is based more upon scientific fact than upon imagination. This is an index of the method used by the author. Certainly the volume cannot be criticised because of descriptions and restorations which are fantastic and extravagant. Numerous plans and pictures and some autographed texts, together with extensive indices, add to the value of the publication. The statements which are made concerning the walls, gates, streets, bridges, sacred precincts, and holy buildings of Babylon are based upon what the spade of the excavator has unearthed and what the Assyriologist has contributed by the decipherment of cuneiform records. Thus the magnificence of the city which was the center of Babylonian glory has been made vivid and impressions preserved by early writers have been corroborated in large measure. This book is bound to be indispensable to those who have an interest in gaining information as to the sort of city Babylon really was.

Attention may be called to several uncertainties. It is by no means an established historical circumstance that the so-called First Sealand Dynasty came to an end as the result of a struggle with Elam. The Kassites contributed much to this change in dynastic fortunes, and the cuneiform record may mean that Ea-gâmil, the last king of the First Sealand Dynasty, went to Elam, not in a hostile attitude, but for the purpose of seeking refuge from Kassite aggression. Reference is made (p. 38) to a Nabonidus text belonging to Yale University which appears to indicate that copper and iron were imported by Erech from Ionia. The writer formerly gave this interpretation to the text, but he now believes that *mât Ia-a-ma-na* may allude to the land of Yemen. He also feels that *NUN<sup>ki</sup>*, even though there are occurrences of the title "King of *NUN<sup>ki</sup>*" in Neo-Babylonian and Persian royal designations, should not necessarily be regarded as an ideogram for "Babylon". *NUN<sup>ki</sup>* was the standard ideogram for "Eridu," and it would seem strange if it could also have been employed for "Babylon". There is no subsidiary proof that "Babylon" was represented by the ideogram *NUN<sup>ki</sup>*. Since Eridu was one of the important cities associated with the Sealand, it is possible that the title "King of Eridu" denoted political control over the Sealand.

RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY.

Yale University.

*The Third Wall of Jerusalem: An Account of Excavations.* By E. L. SUKENIK and L. A. MAYER. Hebrew University, Jerusalem. From the Hebrew. Jerusalem: At the UNIVERSITY PRESS. London: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1930. 76 pp., and 10 plans.

The third wall of Jerusalem is a subject which has always been especially successful in arousing odium archaeologicum. Unfortunately, the carefully executed excavations of the Palestine Exploration Society, hopefully begun "to put an end to conflicting opinions put forward on the subject of the 'Third Wall,'" did not achieve that much-to-be-desired end. That, however, is not in the least the fault of the excavators or their publication of results, but is due to the character of the data with which they had to work and still more to Josephus' remarkable ability to contradict himself.

The reviewer arrived in Jerusalem two years after the conclusion of the excavations, which were conducted in 1925, 1926, and 1927. Many of the trenches were still partly open and sections of the wall could be examined. Although for the safety of travel it was found necessary to cover nearly all of it, nevertheless the Department of Antiquities has wisely left two or three sections exposed but protected, and considerable portions of a tower and gateway are still visible in the street directly in front of the American School of Oriental Research. The excavations have at least conclusively proved that, at some time early in the Roman period, a strong wall ran across the open plain parallel to the present north rampart of the city and about 500 meters from it, and thus they have fully established the trustworthiness of Robinson's observations and measurements made in 1838 and 1851.

Since Robinson's time a very large portion of the remains of the wall had disappeared, its great stones having been broken up for use in modern buildings. The excavators undertook to discover whatever traces of the old wall still remained before the rapidly growing city should make investigation impossible. As it was, roads and buildings prevented excavation in several places, but a series of sections of wall with towers was found so placed as clearly to fall into a continuous line running from the American School westward for 500 meters, almost to the Italian Hospital. About this there can no longer be dispute.

There still remain, however, unsettled questions enough. Where this wall eventually joined the city walls on the east and west is not clear. Neither is the question settled as to whether it is Agrippa's "third wall," mentioned by Josephus. And, finally, even if that dispute were at an end, the problem as to the line of the second wall and therefore the site of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre still remains to be debated.

In a series of articles published in the *Revue Biblique* in 1927 and 1928, Père Vincent, famous archeologist of the Dominican École Biblique, has advanced the theory that the "third wall" built by Agrippa followed essentially the line of the present north wall of the Old City and that the wall laid bare by Dr. Sukenik and Dr. Mayer was built during the Bar Cochba revolt. The theory is based upon that careful and discriminating study of all the evidence which distinguishes Père Vincent's work and the publication is accompanied by an illuminating series of photographs of both walls. The chief argument is that the new "third wall" is too poorly constructed to be the work of Herod Agrippa.

The excavators admit that the archeological evidence proves with certainty only that the "third wall" was prior to Byzantine times. But they contend that there is no dependable literary evidence for such a construction during the Bar Cochba revolt and that the building of a wall so far north is improbable at a time when the city was notoriously small and weak, but was eminently suitable when it was at the height of its prosperity in the period before the Jewish War. The poor construction of the wall as now discovered they regard as sufficiently explained by the fact that, according to Josephus, it was merely begun by Josephus and was hastily finished by the revolting Jews just before the investment of the city by Titus. The decision, therefore, turns finally upon the interpretation of the notoriously ambiguous and contradictory statements of Josephus and upon the date of the original line of the present north wall. The conclusions of Drs. Sukenik and Mayer seem eminently reasonable.

Fortunately, perhaps, the question of the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is not affected. The line of the present north wall may have been first used in Aelia Capitolina or in the city of Eudocia. It certainly is the line of the north wall in the Madeba mosaic. The second wall, the north wall of Jesus' time, may well have run just east and south of the present Church of the Holy



Sepulchre, though archeological evidence on the point is extremely weak. On this matter the excavations described in the volume under review throw no light whatever.

The volume, which is an adaptation from the original Hebrew publication, does great credit to the Hebrew University and the Azriel Press of Jerusalem. One would have welcomed more explanatory lettering on the excellent plans of the excavations, but the half-tones and plans are admirably clear and there are most interesting reproductions and descriptions of inscriptions, Byzantine mosaics, and various small finds.

C. C. McCOWN.

Pacific School of Religion.

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*A Book containing the Risāla known as the Dove's Neck-Ring about Love and Lovers, composed by Abu Muḥammad 'Alī Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusi. Translated from the unique manuscript in the University of Leiden edited by D. K. Pétrouf in 1914, by A. R. NYKL. Paris: PAUL GEUTHNER, 1931. Pp. cxxiv + 244.*

*Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* is one of the most delightful pieces of Arabic literature and was written ca. A. D. 1022 by ibn-Ḥazm, one of the three most prolific authors that Islam produced. In it the author, of Christian Spanish descent, treats in clean and beautiful language, in both prose and poetry, such aspects and concomitants of love as its nature, its symptoms, its causes, faultfinding, slandering, union, loyalty, betrayal, separation, oblivion, illicit practices, etc. The translator, Dr. Nykl of the Oriental Institute in the University of Chicago, has traveled in the interest of his work over Andalusia and parts of Northern Africa, visited many of the scenes connected with the life of the author or depicted in his monograph, and consulted with a number of Spanish Arabists who had made a study of ibn-Ḥazm and of his works. The result is the book under review, upon the excellence of which the translator should be warmly congratulated.

Although the translator made a special effort to check on the original text, yet a number of passages are still subject to emendation. On page 2, for instance, *shaḥṭ* (l. 10) should be emended to read *shaṭṭ* and *ghawl* (l. 11) to *ghawr*. Here and there shades of meaning have been missed in the translation. "The great agita-

tion he felt" (p. 31, ll. 21-2) should be "the great ordeal (*baliyah*) he passed through; "seems unimportant" (p. 187, l. 36) should be "seems easy". A few slips have been made. Change *Medersas* (p. xxi, ll. 9, 30) to *medresas*, or better still to *Madrasahs*; *Zahrā* (p. xxix, ll. 13, 27) to *Zahrā'*; *Aqṣā'* (p. xxxiv, l. 29) to *Aqṣā*; *Khaṣṣūn* (p. xxxvii) to *Ḥaṣṣūn*; "proposed plans" (p. 1, ll. 28-9) to "moral of discourses" (*maghāzi*); "has become tired amidst swamps" (p. 17, l. 23) to "yawns (*tathā'aba*) amidst thick dust (*naq'*)"; lines 8-11 on p. 17 to "I covet that conversation in which he is mentioned and which fills me with the sweet odor of amber. When he speaks I pay no heed to others talking in my presence." The crop of typographical errors to be expected in an English work printed in France is there. *Ḥaumān* (p. 2, l. 35) = *Ḥammām*; "continues" (p. 29, l. 29) = "continued"; "‘Āsim" (p. 57, l. 3) = "‘Āsim". The system of transliteration used is not the one generally approved by orientalisks.

Nevertheless the work on the whole is remarkably accurate and reliable.

PHILIP K. HITT.

Princeton University.

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*Der Leuchtturm von Alexandria. Ein arabisches Schattenspiel aus dem mittelalterlichen Aegypten.* Von PAUL KAHLE, mit Beiträgen von GEORG JACOB. Stuttgart: W. KOHLHAMMER, 1930. Pp. viii + 44\* + 94 + 87. Price RM. 20.

Dr. Kahle's publication is a noteworthy contribution to our knowledge of the Arabic shadow-theatre in its popular form and language. *El-manâr* "The Lighthouse" belongs to that class of plays which may still be seen in the Nearer East in a modernized form, especially during the month of Ramadân. Kahle prints for comparison a modern version of "The Lighthouse" which was dictated to him in Cairo in the year 1914.

Except for the more literary plays of Muḥammed Ibn Dāniyāl, of which three MSS are known to exist, MSS of the old, popular shadow-plays were hitherto unknown. Kahle's find of a MS of texts, of which *lîb el-manâr* is one, is therefore of great importance, as we have here for the first time a comprehensive presentation of a shadow-play in its 16th century form. The prose parts were

generally improvised, but kept within the unchangeable framework of the play. The preservation of those found in *El-manâr* is due to the fact that their sense depended upon the absolute accuracy of the wording. The MS was copied, as stated on the last page, on the 8th day of Misre in the year 1118, i. e. the 14th of Gumâdâ I of the year 1119 = 13th of August 1707 A. D. The play, in its present form, is the work of Dâ'ûd el-Manâwi whose name appears as Ra'îs Dâ'ûd el-'Atţâr on the title page of the MS which reads: "This is the shadow-play diwan (*diwân kedes*) of the poetry (*kalâm*) of Shêch Se'ûd and of Shêch 'Ali en-Naḥle and of the poetry of the most loutish (*el-aḥraf*) Ra'îs Dâ'ûd el-'Atţâr." Shech Se'ûd was the teacher of el-Manâwi, and many of his poems occur in the play. Shêch 'Ali en-Naḥle was the Master of the Guild of the Shadow-Play Actors, *šêḥ et-ṭariḳa* (p. 3\*), who conferred the *šedd* upon Dâ'ûd, admitting him thereby into the Guild of Actors. They both belong to the 16th century as does Dâ'ûd who was still alive in 1612/13 when he was in Adrianople (p. 8\*). As the lighthouse of Alexandria is the centre of the play, Kahle sees in the fact that it was destroyed between 1326 and 1349 a proof for the existence of the play *el-manâr* before that event had taken place (p. 9\*). Rare shadow-play figures of the middle of the 14th century, some of which are reproduced, are regarded by the author as an additional proof of its early date. Kahle considers the times of the crusades as its political background. A special feature of this 16th century shadow-play is the introduction of the *bellik*, a song which follows upon a lengthy poetic scene in which it is announced.

The translation is pleasing and, together with the Introduction, will be of interest to the folklorist and antiquarian. The Arabic, the vulgar idiom of the 16th century, offers many difficulties, and it is to be hoped that the author will soon publish, for the benefit of all Arabists, the special lexicon which he has prepared for the texts of his manuscript.

This publication is the first of a series dealing with the Oriental Shadow Theatre to be issued by Georg Jacob and the author. The second volume will contain Muhammed Ibn Dāniyâl's *Ṭaif al-Ḥayâl* by Jacob, who has added a characteristic example of this play to the present volume, as well as an addition to the bibliography of the 2nd ed. of his *Geschichte des Schattentheaters* (Hannover, 1925). This series will undoubtedly become a source of great importance

for our knowledge of the Arabic shadow-play and its peculiar diction.

The few unimportant inaccuracies, due to the printer, the reader will readily notice for himself. In the Vorwort (p. v) *gandâr* is translated "Oberzeremonienmeister" and on p. 10\* "Obergaderobenmeister". Has *gandâr* both meanings? Pp. 1 Ar. text last line: The text is perhaps not in order; we might read *el-rukn el-yamâni* "the south corner" i. e. the corner of the Ka'ba. In it is a stone "called al-Mustajab (or Mustajab min el Zunub or Mustajab el dua, "where prayer is granted"), cf. Burton, *El Medina and Meccah*, 2nd ed. London, 1857, vol. II, p. 160. An allusion to this stone would suit the context well. P. 33 note 3, *tihîna* is a thick liquid, the precipitated portion of fresh, unclarified sesame oil. It is of a grayish white colour and is eaten during the winter months, e. g. in Damascus and Jerusalem, with *dîbs*. It is considered a great delicacy, just such as would suit the glutton er-Rihim, cf. p. 20, v. 4.

H. HENRY SPOER.

New York City.

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*Harunu'l-Rashid and Charles the Great.* By F. W. BUCKLER.  
(Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America, No. 2).  
Cambridge, Mass., 1931. Pp. viii + 64.

About twenty years ago the learned world in Petrograd (at that time Petersburg) was extremely agitated by a dispute between two professors of the University. One of the best Russian Orientalists, W. Barthold, published in 1912 a work entitled *Charles the Great and Harun ar-Rashid*. In this he reviewed the question of Franco-Moslem relations and, especially, those of the embassies of the rulers mentioned in the title. His conclusion was the same as that of Pouqueville, the French scholar of the thirties of the last century; namely, that the tales, which were adopted by the modern European historians as from authentic sources, are pure legend, which could have no place in any serious historical work. The reasons for such a conclusion were the complete silence of the Oriental authorities about these events, the non-authenticity of the famous gifts of Harun to Charles, and, moreover, the facts that the Caliph, his government, and Moslem society really knew nothing about Charles

and his Empire and that the political situation in the reign of Harun was unfavourable for such official relations.

The opposite point of view was defended by the eminent Russian historian, A. Vasiliev (now of the University of Wisconsin), who replied to Barthold two years later in an article under the same title as that of Barthold's. He tried to ruin, step by step, the arguments of Barthold and named his adversary's point of view on the Western data and the Eastern silence "hypercriticism". But Barthold did not wish to leave the last word to Vasiliev and wrote another article in which he attempted to annihilate the objections of Vasiliev. The opinion of the Russian colleagues of these two authors was strictly divided: the Orientalists were on the side of Barthold and the Westernists on that of Vasiliev. Since 1914 neither Barthold, who died in 1930, nor Vasiliev has published anything especially devoted to this problem.

In the following years this question was discussed many times by others, and we must acknowledge that the European historians, almost without exception, were of Vasiliev's point of view. It is common knowledge and a very strange fact that the distrust and scepticism of scholars of Western disciplines defer to the attempts of the Orientalists to criticize some current theories (as, for instance, the rights of Sultans and Khedives to the title of Caliph).

Professor Buckler reviews the same question. He has studied extremely carefully, in detail, all accessible material. His book is divided into preface, three chapters, four appendices, and bibliography. In the preface he expresses his regard for many scholars, among them the two Russian authors. In the chapter "Abdu-'l-Rahman and the Franks" he pours a new light on Moslem Spain and gives some very interesting data as well as an explanation. The next two chapters are devoted especially to the question which is used as the title of the book. All the old material is deeply and assiduously examined, and although no new information can be found nevertheless the author is a follower of Vasiliev's theory. The appendices are a summary, exceedingly important for foreign readers, of the first Russian work of Barthold; the chronology of Cosmas, Patriarch of Alexandria; "Proper Elephantem Bestiam", concerning the elephant, the gift of Harun to Charles; and an extract from "The Pallium of Saint Cuthbert". At the end a

wonderfully complete bibliography is added, in which 135 works are mentioned.

The book under discussion can be highly recommended as the newest and most serious examination of the question. But no new material is given and the Oriental sources are still silent. Thus, we can repeat the words of our author (p. 3): "any final decision is difficult".

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*Tatarische Texte.* By GOTTHOLD WEIL. Berlin: WALTER DE GRUYTER & Co., 1930. Pp. vi + 185. RM 12.

Many Russian soldiers of Tatar origin were prisoners in Germany during the world war. Some of them were called by the Prussian State Library in Berlin to give specimens of their language on phonograph records. The author gives us the material of these forty-three records in phonetic transliteration and in Tatar (Arabic) alphabet with German translation and notes. The contents are solo- and chorus-songs, stories, anecdotes, proverbs, sayings, descriptions of Tatar customs, and several samples of grammatical material—nouns, verbs, declensions and conjugations. Various dialects are represented, mostly those of the Tatar tribes on the Volga River. The book is a very useful one for the linguistic and ethnological studies of Turkologists.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

New York City.

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*Karanis. Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924-28.* (University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series. Volume xxv.) By ARTHUR E. R. BOAK and ENOCH E. PETERSON. Ann Arbor: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS, 1931. Pp. viii + 69. Plates XLII. Plans VI. \$2.00.

The University of Michigan has been especially interested in papyri for several years, due mostly to the late Professor Francis W. Kelsey who, in conjunction with the British Museum, carried on negotiations to procure papyri for the combine of a few American universities. Professor Kelsey attempted to establish a

standard of prices, which Italians, French, and Germans, and others not in the combine have unfortunately broken. Not only has the University of Michigan purchased many papyri, but for seven years it has conducted excavations at the ancient Graeco-Egyptian town of Karanis, now known as Kôm Washim on the northern border of the Fayum near the desert's edge. The results in papyri have been fruitful; and luckily for science the archaeological and historical evidence has not been impaired by lack of carefully planned campaigns. The director of the digging has been mainly Mr. Peterson, who got his first excavating experience in a four-month's campaign with me in 1924 at Pisidian Antioch. He has done a good piece of excavating and uncovered much of the town which flourished only in the period of Greek and Roman rule. He has had the help of visiting professors from Michigan, especially of the Chairman of the Directing Committee, Professor Boak, and of several others. It is too bad that this preliminary report has been so long delayed, but it was well worth waiting for. The photographs on the plates and the plans are for the most part excellent. The photographs will prove important, for, as I was sorry to see when I was at Karanis, some of the walls of the later houses have been destroyed, and the photographs will be the only evidence for them.

The ruins occupy an area measuring about one kilometer from east to west and 600 meters from north to south. Only a portion has been cleared in the upper strata of two areas of the town, but the things described date between the second century A. D. and 457 A. D. The main finds here described are the houses with stone foundations and mud walls (much repaired and rebuilt), several with vaulted roofs and ceilings, some with stone stairways, many containing granaries and dovecotes. One dovecote has several hundred nests made of clay vases built horizontally into the walls. The courtyard of the houses is often encumbered with ovens, hand-mills, pens for animals, etc. The living rooms have decorated niches in the walls and above these vertically barred windows. Many of the walls were plastered and several rectangular niches showed traces of wall-paintings. Those of the god Heron (plate XXIV) and of Isis and Harpocrates (plate XXV) are well preserved. The houses are not extremely important, but, as no late Roman town in the Fayum has been excavated so far, they yield much information on Roman private life and domestic architecture

in Egypt. It would be interesting to have a reconstruction of a typical Karanis house and a comparison with houses excavated elsewhere, and a discussion of the city-plan and the types of houses. For example such a stone basin as appears in Figure 12 has several parallels at Olynthus.

DAVID M. ROBINSON.

Johns Hopkins University.

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*Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne. (Dialecte Guilūki de Recht, dialectes de Fārīzānd, de Yaran et de Natanz.)* Par ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. København, 1930.

*An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto.* By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. Oslo, 1927.

One field of linguistic study which has long been neglected is that of modern Iranian dialectology. Perhaps this neglect is traceable to the greater allure of half-obliterated Pahlevi and Old Persian carvings, perhaps it is a lack of texts which would enforce upon the student a protracted sojourn in the country and the preparation of texts in some method of transcription more accurate than the modified Arabic alphabets in use on the plateau. At any rate, but few scholars have turned their attention to this terra incognita linguarum. It is therefore particularly pleasing to review the two above-named works.

There can be no question that the *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne* by Arthur Christensen is one of the best contributions of recent years to the study of the dialects of the Iranian Plateau. Before, however, considering this book from the point of view of form, presentation, and material it would be well to consider the author and his qualifications. It will be remembered that in this same field of Iranian dialectology Dr. Christensen has already made commendable contributions, most notable of which is his *Le dialecte de Sāmnān* (Copenhagen, 1915). In addition he has published a number of historical and critical texts and has not spared himself in the painstaking study and classification of those of his predecessors and contemporaries in this same too much ignored field of linguistics. It would, therefore, be surprising if a man of such preparation and talents were not to produce a careful and well-organized work. This objective he has attained and it seems safe



to predict that it will be some time before others in the same field will be able to supplant his grammars of the four dialects which he made the focus of his attention in 1929, on his second trip to Persia.

The book itself may be divided into four main parts, a vocabulary, and an appendix. The first of these divisions is the "Introduction", which, in addition to outlining the methodology pursued, contains some bibliographical notes not otherwise published, and a general comparison of the dialects considered. As regards his methodology, one is inclined to the belief that Dr. Christensen is more of a "cabinet scholar" than a field worker inasmuch as it does not appear from his statements that he undertook to pay personal visits to the regions of Fārizānd, Yaran, and Natanz. Instead he appears to have contented himself with a protracted sojourn in Teheran, consulting such natives of these towns as he found in the capital and comparing their statements with those of Mann and Zhukovski. Such a procedure seems inexcusable when one considers that these places lie not more than thirty-six hours from the capital, near to excellent motor routes and in regions which are well policed and properly governed, thanks to the efforts of the new emperor Reza Shah Pahlevi who ascended the throne in 1925. To attempt to delineate a dialect on the say-so of a few individuals when the locale could easily be visited and data checked, seems not merely unwise but a sufficient cause for one to regard details with distrust even if one concedes the major points, such as general grammatical structure, to be accurate.

In the matter of Guilāki, Dr. Christensen has done better. Having made a stay of several weeks at Recht, doubtless he took the opportunity so offered of noting the local peculiarities, though he makes no specific statement to that effect and only indicates those persons who aided him most.

Leaving aside, however, this general criticism with all of its implications, we may now consider the actual language study contained in the remaining parts of the book. These treat respectively of Guilāki, Fārizāndi and Yarani together, and Natanzi. In each case it is noteworthy to observe that this is the first attempt at a systematic grammar of these dialects, and herein lies the value of the work, justifying the above statement that this is "one of the

best contributions of recent years to the study of the dialects of the Iranian Plateau."

Each dialect is given with a grammatical outline, including paradigms of the principal verbs, and followed by carefully prepared and annotated phonetic texts, chiefly folklore, which bring out the main peculiarities. Supplementary to each study is given a brief vocabulary of the dialect in question.

Concluding the grammatical notes is a systematic comparative vocabulary of the dialects as a whole in which the word may be found by seeking the French equivalent in the left hand column and looking for the correct word under the name of the desired dialect.

As an appendix to this work are included five anecdotes transcribed in the vernacular of Teheran. As examples of the educated speech of the capital not only are these few texts of value for comparison with the dialects but they recommend themselves to those who desire to learn the spoken language in a land like Persia where the written and vulgar tongues are notably divergent.

With respect to the other work named above, we may say that Georg Morgenstierne has the distinction of being one of the few scholars of recent years to devote himself almost exclusively to a close study of the eastern Iranian dialects. In 1924, thanks to the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Affairs, he spent some ten months in the Peshawar district and in Eastern Afghanistan, where he was able to collect and classify considerable new material on the various dialects of the region. The results of his studies and observations he has presented to the public in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan* (Oslo, 1926), *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* (Oslo, 1927), *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, Vol. I (Oslo, 1929). Of these, however, perhaps the most useful to the philologist not specializing in this field is the *Vocabulary*. Of his objectives and methods he says in the introduction: "Very many questions regarding Pashto phonology and etymology still remain unsettled, but, as Pashto is of the greatest importance for the study of Iranian linguistics, I have thought it might be useful to try to compile an etymological vocabulary, taking advantage, as far as I have been able, of the new materials. . . . Generally I have restricted the comparisons to words found in Indo-Iranian, or to roots represented in these lan-

guages. . . . In many—perhaps too many—cases I have proposed a tentative etymology. Many of these etymologies are certainly faulty, but I thought it would be more useful to propose something which may suggest better ideas to other scholars, than to confine myself to explanations which seem obviously correct.”

In accordance with his objective, Dr. Morgenstierne has not confined his comparisons to Sanskrit, Avestan, and Modern Persian but has included such related words as appear in the other dialects of the region. In many cases, also, he has sought to connect the Pashto word with others in less closely related tongues, Arabic, Bengali, Latin, etc.

The construction of such a vocabulary even for a tongue having such a well defined literature as Pashto is subject to grave dangers of orthography. The author has wisely avoided the complexities and inaccuracies of the Arabic script and presents each word in phonetic transcription. The words are arranged in the alphabetical order of consonantal sounds and at the end of the book is included a useful index designed to facilitate reference to Pashto words which are related to words in other languages, more particularly Avestan and Modern Persian.

Judged as a whole the book is well arranged and well documented, evidencing the most careful and sound scholarship. It is a definite contribution to the study of the linguistic problems of the Northwest Frontier Region which might aptly be termed Asia's Tower of Babel.

FELIX HOWLAND.

Washington, D. C.

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*The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavad Gītā.* By F. OTTO SCHRADER. (Beiträge zur Indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte, herausgegeben von J. W. HAUER. Drittes Heft.) Stuttgart: KOHLHAMMER, 1930. 52 pp.

This is undoubtedly the most challenging work on the Gītā that has appeared since Garbe's famous translation (1905). It has always been supposed that the Gītā, unlike most great works of Indian literature, had been handed down to us in only a single recension, the manuscripts of which moreover show an astonishing approach to perfect agreement, variants being rare and slight. This

condition of the text was not modified by the appearance of the version of "Hansayogin" (Madras, 1922-4), on which see Printz, *ZDMG.* 83, 256 ff.; that text does not merit the name of a genuine version of the Gītā. Now, thanks to Professor Schrader, we learn that at least a thousand years ago there existed in Kashmir a recension of the famous poem which differed from the vulgate in the following respects. First, it contained fourteen whole and four half stanzas not found in the vulgate. Second, it lacked two stanzas which the vulgate contains, and one stanza is found in a different place. Third, it contained variant readings in some 250 of the 700 verses of the poem. While many of these variants (all presented in the work under review) are trifling, some are extensive and important. As a whole Schrader's text seems to deserve being counted as a real variant version of the Gītā.

The question of its relation to the vulgate is naturally a most interesting and important one. Schrader discusses it with much learning and acumen. He makes no sweeping claims for the superiority of his new discovery. He admits (p. 9) that "the first impression from K (the Kashmirian version) will probably be that it is a somewhat enlarged and corrected version of V (the vulgate)." He concedes (p. 11) that K contains "a small number of readings which are apparently but corruptions of V", and (p. 12) "a larger number of readings . . . which look like grammatical or stylistic emendations of V." Nevertheless he finds (p. 12) a "rather numerous class of readings which appear to be original readings of the Gītā preserved in K but corrupted in V", and he further believes (pp. 10-11) that "some at least" of the additional stanzas in K belonged to the original, while the two stanzas of V not found in K did not belong to the original. On the whole, one gets the clear impression that he considers K closer to the original than V, tho so far as I have noticed he makes no such definite statement.

To such a view I should be *a priori* entirely sympathetic. There are well-known parallels to such a state of affairs—the preservation in the remote valley of Kashmir of versions of Sanskrit works more antique in character than their rivals in the plains. The Kashmirian version of the Pañcatantra, namely the Tantrākhyāyika, is in my opinion an example of this, even tho (as I have shown elsewhere) it is far less ancient and "original" than was supposed by

its discoverer, Hertel. Another example is being revealed to us by Sukthankar's great edition of the Mahābhārata, the weightiest support for which is being furnished by a Kashmirian version brought to light by the editor.

But of course the question cannot be decided by such *a priori* considerations. And Professor Schrader has not failed to give specific reasons for his preference for the Kashmirian readings in a number of cases. I have studied them carefully, and I hope with an open mind, quite ready to be convinced; but I have been forced to the conclusion that not one of them is conclusive. In a number of cases, on the contrary, it seems to me that the probabilities favor the vulgate reading, while in the remainder there seems hardly any reason to prefer either.

Before referring to these individual cases, I must mention one general consideration to which Professor Schrader alludes, but to which I think he hardly attributes sufficient weight. The Bhagavad Gītā is a part of the Mahābhārata, the Kashmirian recension of which, as I said above, has been shown by Sukthankar to be on the whole probably the most ancient version of the epic which we possess. Now it is a curious fact that the Kashmirian version of the Mbh., at least judging from the India Office ms. 2137 which is one of Sukthankar's most important mss. thereof (his "K<sub>1</sub>"), contains the vulgate text of the Gītā (Schrader, p. 1). While I should not attribute to this fact decisive importance, it raises a certain presumption, at any rate, in favor of the vulgate text, and Professor Schrader passes over it much too lightly, in my opinion.

Of the variant readings of the Kashmir Gītā, the most tempting is doubtless that on the first half of the celebrated II. 11, which in the vulgate reads *asocyān anvaśocas tvaṁ prajñāvādāṅś ca bhāṣase*. This verse seems to make Kṛṣṇa say to Arjuna: "Thou hast been mourning those who should not be mourned, and thou speakest words of wisdom," which looks like a flat contradiction. We naturally expect the statement that Arjuna's words are *not* wise. And this is precisely what the Kashmirian text makes Kṛṣṇa say: *asocyān anuśocaṅś tvaṁ prājñāvaṇ nābhībhāṣase*, "In mourning those who should not be mourned thou speakest not like a wise man." That this is a very simple and natural meaning will be admitted by all; but whether Schrader is right in assuming that the original Gītā read so, is not so clear. In the first place, just

because it is so simple and natural, it is hard to conceive why the *lectio difficilior* of the vulgate would ever have been substituted for it. Schrader suggests that the change was made to avoid attributing un wisdom to Arjuna. But the whole Gītā consists of lessons imparted by Kṛṣṇa to the originally uncomprehending Arjuna; and much harsher language than this is used elsewhere by Kṛṣṇa in describing Arjuna's instinctive refusal to fight (e. g., it is called *klaibya* in II. 3). This will hardly suffice to explain the supposed change. An even more serious difficulty is the occurrence in the Śānti-parvan<sup>1</sup> of the Mbh. of what Schrader himself describes, probably rightly, as an "echo" of Gītā II. 11 in its vulgate form: *prajñāprāsādam āruhya na śocyān śocato janān*. If so, then the Gītā verse in question was certainly known in its vulgate form when that line was composed (and this Schrader admits). Even if this section belongs, as Schrader asserts, "to the latest parts of the epic", still it attests the probability of a fairly respectable antiquity for the vulgate form of our verse, compared with the Kashmirian text of the Gītā, which cannot be shown to be older than the tenth century A. D. It further suggests to my mind that the K reading is a quite obvious *lectio faciliior*, introduced by some one who felt, as so many have felt since his day and feel even in ours, that the text ought to say the opposite of what it seems to say. The true meaning may be quite simply: "... and you (presume to) utter speeches concerning wisdom! (altho you are so foolish as to mourn those who should not be mourned)." That is, Arjuna shows that he lacks all qualifications for philosophic arguments, and yet he dares to argue. The second half of the same stanza says that really learned men (*paṇḍitāḥ*) do not mourn for living or dead. For other interpretations see Schrader, 13 f.; Hill's note ad loc.; and the other standard translations.

Much less plausible are all the other cases in which Professor Schrader would find superior readings in the Kashmirian version. I shall deal with them more briefly.

II. 5 says: "For it were better, not slaying my exalted gurus,

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<sup>1</sup> Schrader gives the reference wrongly as "Mokṣadharmā XVII. 19". It is not in the Mokṣadharmā at all, but in the Rājadharmānuśāsana Parvan, an earlier part of the Śānti-parvan. The true reference is Mbh. 12. 530 (or 12. 17. 20) of the Calcutta ed., = 12. 16. 20 of the Bombay ed. Schrader quotes it with *aśocyān*, following the Bombay ed., instead of *na śocyān*, as I quote with the Calcutta ed.

even to eat alms-food in this world; but having slain my gurus as they seek to attain their ends, I should eat food smeared with blood right in this world" (without waiting for such a punishment in a future life). The text of the last half is *hatvārthakāmāns tu gurūn ihaiva bhuñjīya bhogān rudhirapradigdhān*. Schrader (with some previous interpreters) feels that an *api* is needed after *arthakāmān*; but none is at all called for, and those translators who supply *api* misunderstand the meaning. Arjuna's opponents are spoken of as "desiring their ends", *arthakāmān*; the translation "wealth" is here too narrow for *artha*, which means simply "object, aim." To supply an "altho" (*api*) is to suggest, quite wrongly, that this epithet was conceived as a possible or partial justification for killing the gurus. But on the contrary, Arjuna may very well mean that it is precisely *because* his gurus are "seeking their objects" that it would be wrong to kill them. He ought to respect their desires; a guru's wish should be law to him. The Kashmirian text reads *arthakāmas*, a nominative agreeing with Arjuna; but its version of the line is otherwise obviously corrupt and secondary, as Schrader himself admits (*na tv arthakāmas tu gurūn nihatya*; note double *tu*!), and there is not the slightest reason to abandon *arthakāmān*.

VI. 7. Here the vulgate has *jīātmanah praśāntasya paramātmā samāhitah*. With Boehtlingk and Garbe, *paramātmā* is here to be taken as precisely equivalent to *ātman*; Schrader's objections to this are purely subjective and sufficiently disproved by the parallels which Garbe quotes. It is natural that later Hindu commentators gagged at calling the soul *paramātman* when the text evidently has in mind specially the individual soul. But it is surprising that a modern scholar should so far sympathize with them as to call the reading "hopeless", as Schrader does. The individual self is repeatedly and in all possible contexts called *īśvara*, *paramātman*, and all other epithets which apply to the Supreme One; the plain fact being that in early Sanskrit texts these terms mean both at the same time, and it is rarely if ever possible to draw a sharp line between the two concepts. The Kashmirian version, *parātmāsu samā matih*, is in itself harmless, but there is not the slightest reason to suppose that it was more original.

I. 7. Schrader says that *nāyakā* is wrong syntactically, and prefers *nāyakān* of K. But Garbe rightly points out that *nāyakā* agrees

with *viśiṣṭā* of the preceding line. An original *nāyakān* would never have been changed to *nāyakū* when *tān* both precedes and follows the word more closely than *viśiṣṭā*, with which the vulgate (and original) *nāyakā* actually agrees.

III. 2, *vyāmiśreṇaiva* is read by K as well as by Rāmānuja for the more usual *vyāmiśreṇeva*. Only subjective reasons can be given for preferring either. To me the apologetic *iva*, twice in the same line, seems extremely natural and proper, since Arjuna is venturing to find fault with the language used by God incarnate: "With what *seems* to be confused language you *seem* to confuse (*mohayasiva*) my mind." The repetition of *iva* offended somebody, who substituted *eva* for the first *iva*. But the double *iva* is quite in order as a mark of the apologetic way in which Arjuna timidly suggests that the Blessed Lord "seems" to have spoken confusing words.

V. 21, *yat* is not a pronoun but a conjunction, "when". K. reads *yaḥ*, which is conjectured also by Hill, but is quite unnecessary. The redactor of K, like Hill and Schrader, wanted a correlative to *sa* at the beginning of the next line; but this sort of mild incongruence is common. The same may be true of *yat* in XVIII. 8, where K again has *yaḥ* which Schrader prefers; but here *yat* may also be taken as a pronoun with *karma*, involving a slight asyndeton: "Whatever action one abandons thinking it painful . . . , he (i. e. the one who abandons it) " etc.

VI. 16. The vulgate is perfect in both grammar and sense, and Schrader's only reason for preferring K (*yogo 'sti naivātyaśato . . . nātijāgarato 'rjuna*) seems to be that K contains two ungrammatical forms, which he assumes that the vulgate altered to correct ones. This is carrying the principal of the *lectio difficilior* pretty far! Even the commentators on K apparently agree here with the vulgate, to judge from Schrader's statements about them.

VII. 18. K's *mataḥ* for *matam* seems to me an obvious *lectio faciliior*, and despite the fact that Schlegel and Boehtlingk favored this reading by emendation, I prefer to believe that the original had the neuter, agreeing vaguely with the general idea, despite the lack of an *iti* (see below on XVIII. 78 for a similar case). I cannot conceive the alteration of so simple an original reading as *mataḥ* to the more recondite (tho perfectly correct and interpretable) *matam*; the reverse process is easy to understand.



XI. 40. *saṁvyāpnoṣi* of K for the vulgate *saṁāpnoṣi* is bad metrically, a fact which Schrader overlooks, and this compound is otherwise unrecorded. Either *saṁāpnoṣi* is used in the sense of *vyāpnoṣi* for metrical reasons, or else it has its regular sense of "attain, win", which is quite possible here; Boehtlingk in PW. favors the latter alternative, probably rightly.

XI. 44. K's change to *priyaḥ priyasyārhasi* is occasioned by the irregular sandhi of V (*priyāyārhasi*, for *priyāyāḥ + arhasi*). But it spoils the sense, which clearly requires the comparison with a lover and his beloved. As Garbe notes, other cases of irregular Sandhi occur in this vicinity.

XIII. 4. Despite Boehtlingk and Garbe, I see no reason to prefer *vinīṣcitam* to *vinīṣcitaiḥ*. Schrader says that *brahmasūtrāṇi* cannot be "sung" (*gītam*); but this is disproved by M Bh. XII. 8971 (quoted by Garbe), *vedānteṣu ca gīyate*. For there *vedānta* certainly means the same thing that *brahmasūtra* means in Gītā XIII. 4 (in my opinion the Upaniṣads, while *chandas* refers to the Vedic hymns).

XVII. 23. *brahmaṇā* of K seems clearly a *lectio facilior*, influenced by *brahmaṇas* of the preceding line and by the following *tena*. The verse is much more plausible with the vulgate *brāhmaṇās*, which provides *three* things (*brāhmaṇās . . . vedās ca yajñās ca*) created by the *three* syllables *om*, *tat*, and *sat*.

XVIII. 50. Schrader misunderstands the meaning of *tathā* of the vulgate. It is not correlative with *yathā*, but means "likewise" (so Garbe). The redactor of K, with a similar misunderstanding, substitutes *tan*, changing the order.

XVIII. 78. The omission of *iti* is paralleled by VII. 18 above; the two passages support each other, and (as Schrader here admits) the construction is otherwise "not unheard-of".

These are the only passages discussed by Schrader in which he prefers the readings of K to those of the vulgate, barring cases of entire lines or stanzas missing in one or the other. The only stanzas of V omitted in K are II. 66 and 67, which Schrader assumes to be secondary additions in V merely because they "cannot possibly have been omitted in K for want of interest or some such reason." He attributes more care and system to ancient Hindu copyists and redactors than I should wish to, when he implies that the stanzas could not have been omitted in K by mere

accident, or (which perhaps means the same thing) for some reason that escapes our ken.

As to the additions in K, several times we find odd half-stanzas which Schrader thinks were original and were dropped from the vulgate in order to avoid the occurrence of three-line stanzas. But stanzas of three lines are rather common in the Mahābhārata as a whole, and Sukthankar is clearly right in keeping them. If the original Gītā had happened to contain any, why should a later redactor have deleted them, any more than in other parts of the epic? Is there any reason to suppose that they would have appeared to an ancient Indian redactor as a blemish? I think that Schrader projects modern western ideas into the ancient Indian past. It is much more likely that the extra lines of K are secondary additions.

Again, Schrader assumes that XI. 39cd and 40ab originally constituted one stanza as in K, which adds another cd to 39 ab and another ab to 40 cd. Apparently his only reason is the verbal similarity between 39cd, *namo namas te 'stu* etc., and 40ab, *namaḥ purastād* etc. I may say that to me the vulgate reading, which separates these two similar half-stanzas, seems stylistically much better. But while this is no real argument, at any rate I think it unlikely that a later redactor would have deliberately separated them, if they were originally joined; while their very resemblance to each other suggests the reason for K's (secondarily) joining them in one stanza.

In brief, I see no reason whatever for assuming the originality of any of the plus parts of K., nor of even a single one of K's variant readings. I am obliged to conclude that the attempt to prove the superiority of K is a failure, and that, on grounds of general probability, we must continue to regard the vulgate text of the Gītā as the nearest approach we have to the original, especially since it seems to be supported by the genuine "Kashmirian" version of the Mahābhārata as a whole.

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*Studia Indo-Iranica*. Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger zur Vollendung des 75. Lebensjahres 1856—21. Juli—1931. Herausgegeben von WALTHER WÜST. Leipzig: HARRASSOWITZ, 1931. xii + 328 pp.

The thirty-five scholarly contributions in this volume are dedicated to a scholar whom the preface justly calls "den letzten Altmeister der einst ungeteilten Indo-Iranischen Philologie." Both Indic and Iranian studies, Geiger's two great fields, are worthily represented; about two-thirds of the book belong to the former, one-third to the latter. There is, to be sure, very little bearing directly on Sinhalese studies, one of Geiger's particular specialties; but a number of important articles deal with Pāli language and literature and other phases of Buddhism. There is an excellent portrait of Geiger, but unfortunately no bibliography; it is stated that one will be published by Karl G. Zistl in the periodical *Yoga*. The book was actually presented in print to the revered recipient on his birthday, July 21, 1931, altho preparations were started less than a year before: an example of rare efficiency for which the editor deserves great credit.

Probably few living scholars except Geiger himself possess sufficient competence in all the fields represented by the contributions to estimate their value justly. Certainly this reviewer is not so qualified, and the space of this JOURNAL is limited. I must, therefore, restrict myself to suggesting the richness of the materials by what will, I fear, amount to little more than an analytic table of contents.

The volume opens with an original Pāli poem of felicitation by Thera A. P. Buddhadatta. A. M. Hocart argues against hasty identification of the mythical Yakṣas with the Veddas of Ceylon. Th. Zachariae presents interesting Indian and European versions of the folklore motif of the "enigmatic answer" to a question. J. Bloch explains with great finesse the feminine gender of Prakrit *vaṭṭā* = Skt. (neut.) *varṭman*, "way" (continued as fem. in modern vernaculars; it presupposes an intermediate change from neut. to masc., with nom. \**varṭmā* = *vaṭṭā*). The late E. Leumann reedits, in a conveniently analyzed form, an important passage on the properties of a Bodhisattva, from Wogihara's edition of Asaṅga's Bodhisattva-bhūmi. L. Bachhofer argues powerfully that the more a Gandhāra head resembles Hellenistic heads, the more

certain it is to be late (4th-5th century A. D.), instead of early as was once commonly assumed. B. Ch. Law writes on the *cetiya* in Buddhist literature; it "can well stand for a stūpa, a vihāra, an assembly hall, a tree, a memorial stone, a holy relic or object or memorial or place, or even an image;" in short, any object with religious associations in a fixed location. R. Fick argues against Karandikar's view that non-brahmanical *gotras* in the Pāli texts were fictitious. Mrs. Rhys Davids presents another "Felsenriff der versunkenen Sakyalehre," which in her now well-known view can be found only in chance survivals, almost engulfed in the sea of secondary monkish distortions which, she thinks, make up most of the Pāli canon. Contrariwise, M. Winternitz thinks that writers of this school, with which are associated also F. Weller and J. Przyluski, depreciate the value and "originality" of the Pāli records unduly, while he fully recognizes the need of dealing with them critically and of carefully heeding Northern Buddhist sources. F. Hommel derives Pāli *muddā* (Skt. *mudrā*) from Babylonian *musarū*, "document, signature, seal," thru Old Persian *mudrāya*, and adds interesting observations on the relations of Indian and various Semitic systems of writing. J. Scheftelowitz writes on 108 as a "perfect number", and analyzes it as the sum of 101 and 7. J. Schick presents Indian parallels to Chaucer's *Frankleyn's Tale*, from the Vetālapañcaviṃśati and other works. Batakriṣṇa Ghosh collects 116 verses attributed to the lost Vyāsaśmṛti in various legal works. J. W. Hauer offers a new and important interpretation of Yoga Sūtras IV. 1-6, and finds evidence of a close relation between Mahāyāna Buddhism of the 4th-5th centuries A. D. and the fourth book of the Y. S., which he considers a unit and a late addition to the text. H. Oertel gives textual notes on several passages in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, including 6. 2. 3, on which see this JOURNAL 35. 240, where the same passage is treated in a way largely similar to Oertel's, but partly different. Betty Heimann writes on Indian "Namenkunde", including not only proper names but generic names of animals, plants, etc. The present reviewer offers a new explanation of the Skt. pronominal "stems" in -*d*. L. Renou speaks of "quelques particularités du suffixe en -*k*- en sanskrit." M. Walleser has a daring theory of the dative singular ending -*āya*; it contains an old gerund of *ā* + root *i*, added to the "bare stem" of the noun, so that *putrāya* (= *putra-ā-ayya*) *dadāti* meant "Zum

Sohn hin gehend (oder gegangen seiend) gibt (er).” (The least serious of my objections would be that  $\bar{a} + i$  in Sanskrit means not “hingehen” but “herkommen.”) Harit Krishna Deb, on “Vedic India and Minoan men,” makes some identifications, more ingenious than probable, of Vedic and Sanskrit words taken as names of tribes with names of peoples mentioned in Egyptian monuments. The editor, W. Wüst, presents a long and searching study on “Ein weiterer irano-skythischer Eigennamen im R̥gveda”; its results are too numerous to be listed here, and certainly some of them are valuable. He deals primarily with RV. 10. 108. 7d, and argues (1) that *rēku padām* means “ergiebiges Stätte” (of which he has convinced me), and (2) that *ālakam* does not mean “in vain” but is a geographical name, of the Paṇis’ city, comparing later Sanskrit *Alakā* (Meghadūta 7). I cannot find this part of his argument convincing; to me it seems disproved by the other occurrence of *ālakam* in the RV. (10. 71. 6c), which Wüst (p. 204) brushes aside rather lightly. The two passages support each other, and it seems to me that the only meaning which will fit both of them simply and naturally, without straining, is something like “vainly”; the rest of 10. 71. 6, in particular, cries aloud for this.

The remaining papers deal mostly with Iranian subjects. H. S. Nyberg discusses the Persian treatment of IE.-(s)sk̑-, and hr- from fr- in Armenian loanwords from Persian. E. Benveniste has an interesting article on synonymous names for certain animals in the Avesta, one said to belong to “good” language, the other to “bad”, which terms B. interprets as meaning sacerdotal and popular (with suggestions of a parallel in the Homeric language). They have been, but should not be, identified with the well-known “Ormazdian” and “Ahrimanic” spheres of diction. J. Wackernagel studies the Avestan form *vaēdayanā*, which he would read *vi-* instead of *vaē-*. A. Meillet discusses Av. *īkaēša-*, and explains its anomalous initial as containing a dental consonant as prefix, which belongs to a group of IE. prefixes first studied by Meringer. J. C. Tavadia finds in Middle Persian texts support for Hertel’s theory of the all-importance of fire in Avestan religion. H. Reichelt deals with the verbal augment and with the passive participle and infinitive in Soghdian. Sten Konow demonstrates the existence of the neuter gender in the Khotanī Saka language. Sir Aurel

Stein writes of a "Persian Bodhisattva" from Khotan, who turns out to be no other than the Persian hero Rustam. Sir J. J. Modi raises and seeks to answer the question: "The Mobadān Mobad Omīd bin Ashavast, referred to by Hamzā Isphahāni. Who was he?" G. Morgenstierne gives the text in Pashto, with an English translation, of an Afridi sepoy's account (taken down orally) of his experiences in the Indian army during the late war. O. Paul analyzes the meters of Rückert's translation of Hafiz and their relation to the meters of the original. A. V. W. Jackson writes on the Manichæan confession-prayer *xv'stv'nyft*, which he would read *xv-āstavān-ēft*, "the Good Confessional." Th. Dombart calls attention to widespread representations of the vault of heaven as a half hexagon. The volume closes with an appreciation of Wilhelm Geiger's work and influence in the field of the history of religion, by R. F. Merkel.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

Yale University.

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*Hindustani Phonetics*. By S. G. MOHIUDDIN QADRI. A phonetic study of the Hindustani Language as spoken by an educated person of Hyderabad Deccan. Villeneuve-Saint-George: Imprimerie L'Union Typographique, publisher and date not indicated. Pp. 117.

Any and every book dealing in modern terms and in a modern fashion with the phonetics of any Indian language is to be cordially welcomed. Our greatest need in this field just now is a full treatment of the phonetics of Western Hindi, the premier vernacular of India, and of Tamil, the most important of the Dravidian languages. Dr. Qadri, by presenting the phonetics of one of the smaller dialects of Hindi—Deccani Urdu—is paving the way for future workers. It would be easy to find many flaws in his work; Urdu is at one time presented as identical with Western Hindi, spoken by a hundred million people, while at another time it would seem to be a sister language; more specific information should be given in regard to the position of the vocal organs in forming certain sounds, and the like. But the good features of the work are many; the employment of the International Phonetic alphabet; the copious use of palatograms and other illustrations; tables of

comparison with northern dialects; these may be mentioned with high approval. The book is to be commended to those who will take it for what it is,—a description of the phonetics of Hyderabad Urdu, and not of Hindustani in general.

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*Studies in Tamil Literature and History.* By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. London: LUZAC & Co., 1930. Pp. xii + 321.

Thanks are due to the University of Madras for encouraging an investigation of ancient Tamil literature with a view to throwing light on early conditions in South India. The author of this work, a lecturer in the University, is one of the growing group engaged in this investigation. He does not deal with the whole field, but only with certain phases of early Tamil life; nevertheless he has produced a useful book, and thrown needed light on a dark spot in Indian history. Much of the material has already been published in various journals in India, and this leads to one of the greatest defects of the work. It contains a great many untranslated Tamil words, intelligible enough, no doubt, to the original readers of the articles, but difficult of comprehension for one whose mother tongue is not Tamil. It also detracts from the interest in the work.

Those who have supposed that there is virtually no Indian literature outside of Sanskrit and its related languages, will be greatly surprised at the number of Ancient Tamil books cited. The length of these works runs into thousands of stanzas. To most of the works cited, the author assigns more or less definite dates, running back to the fourth century before our era, or even earlier. He may be right in these dates, but he would have been more convincing had he stated the grounds for such assignments. He considers only the oldest Tamil literature,—that which comes from the “Sangam” age; that is, the period preceding the third quarter of the first millennium A. D. His pictures of the life of this period are interesting and at times vivid. The kings of the three Tamil countries, and the residents of the five *tinai* or regions are marshalled before us; we have both queens and courtesans acting in the scenes. The virtues, the vices, the passions of the past were the same as those at present; humanity has been able to invent nothing new in these lines. Life in that period was much more primitive and Arcadian

than at present. Next in interest to his chapter on Social Life, are the chapters on Tiruvallavar and on the Art of War. He cites many parallels between Tiruvallavar's famous Kural and early Sanskrit works, such as Manu and Kauṭilya. This, he says, is due to borrowing from Sanskrit; he might have noted, however, that the name Kauṭilya is in the correct form to be a derivative from Kural.

The author accepts the tradition in regard to the three *sangams*, or literary councils, as authentic; but he does run them all into one, and shortens their duration from ten thousand years to one thousand. He also gives full historical value to the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. In interpreting the Tamil odes he also fails to allow for the evident exaggeration and flattery of court bards. Mr. Dikshitar's book is helpful, and may be read with profit. But what we really need from Tamil scholars is a series of well edited editions of early Tamil books, accompanied by accurate translations and glossaries. Little worth while work in this line has been done since the days of Pope and Graul.

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*The Thirteen Principal Upanishads.* Translated by ROBERT ERNEST HUME. With an Outline of the Philosophy of the Upanishads and an annotated Bibliography. Second edition, revised. With a list of recurrent and parallel passages by GEORGE C. O. HAAS. New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1931.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1921; it is a tribute to the careful and accurate work of the author that the book is now reprinted substantially as it appeared ten years ago. It is scarcely necessary and hardly advisable to comment on a work which has been so favorably received and has stood the test of time so well; it is sufficient to say that Dr. Hume's translation of the Upanishads is easily the best which has appeared in English, and probably the best in any language. The general approval which has greeted the book has been due in part to a wise selection of Upanishads, to translating whole Upanishads rather than selections from them, and to the careful and conservative way in which the translation has been made. It has been the author's aim through-



out to give in idiomatic English as literal a delineation as possible of the ideas contained in these ancient documents, reproducing faithfully what has come down to us of India's early philosophical and speculative discussions. The attempt has succeeded well. The valuable sketch of Upanishadic philosophy which forms the introduction to the book has been reprinted word for word from the first edition. It would seem that the next advance in this field is to be made by a comparative study of the Upanishads and the earliest documents of the Jains and Buddhists. Taking into account the generally admitted view that transmigration is pre-Aryan, and that the all pervasiveness of spirit is primarily an animistic idea, we should probably be able to throw much light on the beliefs of pre-Aryan India, and it might even turn out that *Brahman* and *Ātman* represent animism at its best.

The extensive annotated bibliography has been brought down to date. The critical apparatus has been enlarged by the inclusion of a list of recurrent and parallel passages in the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gītā. This section was prepared by Dr. G. C. O. Haas; it enumerates more than 800 such passages. The translation of Dr. Hume will undoubtedly remain standard for many years longer.

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*The Gita Idea of God.* By BRAHMACHARI GITANAND. Madras: B. G. PAUL & Co., 1930. Pp. lxi + 462.

The author expounds his philosophical ideas at considerable length, not in a very systematic way, but by taking up certain terms and relations and descanting on them. He rarely quotes from the Bhagavad Gītā, but many of his terms are to be found in that book. The book, therefore, can scarcely be said to make much of a contribution to our understanding of the Gītā; in fact the Gītā is much the simpler work of the two. Whatever value the book possesses may be said to be in the revelation it gives of the mind of one who is an ardent believer in the inspiration of the Bhagavad Gītā; its relation to the great Indian masterpiece is merely nominal.

GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN.

Kennedy School of Missions,  
Hartford.

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*Indische Kunst und Triumphalbild.* Von ALBERT IPPEL. *Morgenland*, Heft 20. Leipzig, 1929. Pp. 24, and 43 figures.

The author discusses from a new angle the relations between Indian and western art before the time of the mixed art of Gandhāra. He shows that the characteristic formulae of the triumphal procession and of a besieged city are of great antiquity, and common to Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, and Indian art. The motifs, as such, can be followed back at least to 1000 B. C. But while at Bhārhut the directly frontal treatment of these and other motifs in relief represents a natural development on Indian soil, parallel to Babylonian, a change takes place at Sāñcī; there, combined with the already existing vertical projection, we find a new sense of the position and movement of forms in space, which the author calls perspective. Now the development of this kind of special representation took place in Greece in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. When therefore we find it lacking at Bhārhut, where the Assyrian treatment survives, and suddenly blossoming at Sāñcī, a contact between Greek and Indian art may naturally be assumed. This, it is pointed out, involved no "treason" to the Indian style (the inorganic mixture represented by the later art of Gandhāra is of quite another sort). The author emphasizes that such constructive mastery of material of foreign origin demonstrates more clearly than anything else the truly individual character ("eigentlich Wesentliche") of the receptive art. The development from Bhārhut to Sāñcī is not an "improvement", but a difference; each great monumental style is complete in itself, and criticism from the standpoint of some other style is irrelevant. In the notes to the Plates, Nos. 6 and 7 are transposed.

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*Les collections khmères du Musée Sarraut à Phnom Penh.* Par GEORGES GROSLIER. Paris: VAN OEST, 1931. Pp. 28, frontispiece, and 50 collotype plates.

M. Groslier, who has made many valuable contributions to the history of Khmer art, is the true creator and organiser of the Musée Albert Sarraut, founded in 1919, and now housing by far the most important collections of Khmer art extant, aside from what remains *in situ*. Connected with the museum is an adequate

library, and the School of Cambodian Arts, where the traditional crafts are taught and practised in a veritable *sippānugahana-pāsāda* such as the Pali texts speak of. The collection includes 290 stone statues, 55 inscriptions, 110 architectural fragments, and about 700 bronzes, besides jewellery, arms, ceramics, coins, and some paintings. It is especially rich in pre-Khmer or "Khmer primitif" sculpture, i. e. the art of Fu-Nan: M. Groslier's classification being: pre-Khmer (5th-8th century), early Khmer (9th-12th century), and late Khmer (end of 12th-14th century). He accepts the dating of the Bayon at the end of the 12th century, suggested by Stern and Coedès. The sequence is on the whole one of decline: "ce que l'imagier pré-Khmèr simplifiait, le Khmèr le codifie".

The strange term Gréco-Gupta (p. 18) is not much better than the Gréco-Khmèr formerly used by M. Groslier; as remarked by Goloubew, *BEFEO*, 1927-8, p. 389, the style is simply Gupta. The comparison of the Buddha head of Pl. III with the Amarāvātī type is noteworthy. Could not Pl. VIII, fig. 2, a headless figure holding a small female figure on the left arm, have been a representation of the Varāha Avatār of Viṣṇu? In Pl. X, fig. 1, the full vase may represent Vasundharā; the Bodhisattva is in the earth-touching pose, and the scene seems to combine the visit of deities preceding the Māra Dharṣaṇa with that event, rather than the subsequent invitation to preach. The splendid horse-headed figure, Pl. XX, might be a representation of Lokeśvara as "le cheval Balāha", cf. the reproduction and discussion by Goloubew in *BEFEO*, 1927, pp. 234-5, which should have been cited. Pls. XXV, 2 and XXVII, 1, are important because the dates and places of origin are exactly known. In Pl. L, figs. 4 and 8, the vases "à goulot et déversoir" are *kunḍikās*, the neck being the spout, and the lateral opening a filling, not an emptying place. The volume will be indispensable to all students of Khmer art.

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*L'Attelage et le cheval de selle à travers les âges: contribution à l'histoire de l'esclavage.* Par CT. LEFEBURE DES NOËTTES.  
Paris: PICARD, 1931. 2 vols., with 457 illustrations.

This second edition of a treatise described in the Introduction by Jérôme Carcopino as "déjà classique" is extremely defective in

parts relating to India. Indian sculpture is said to date only from the beginning of the Christian era. Sāñcī is dated 1st-2nd century A. D., Bhārhut (fig. 267, "Bahrut") is assigned to the 7th century A. D., and a Gandhāran sculpture of about the second century (fig. 268) is said to be from Bhārhut. The well known representation of Sūrya at Bodhgayā, ca. 100 B. C. (fig. 103) is assigned to the 4th A. D. and called "Buddha".

The invention of stirrups is credited to China in the 7th century, and it is stated that stirrups are not met with in India before the 9th. It has usually been supposed that the representations of riders at Bhājā, Sāñcī (Marshall, *Guide* . . . , p. 138), and Mathurā (Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, pl. 72, lower left), all in the last two centuries B. C., prove a use of stirrups in India earlier than anywhere else; but the author is certainly right in describing the Kuḷu *loṭā* (p. 231 and fig. 263) as proving only the use of a loose strap ("sous-ventrière d'appui pour les pieds"), and all the other early examples may be really of the same kind; in which case the use of a true stirrup in India before the 9th century A. D. still remains to be demonstrated. Now as to China, figs. 282-284 showing horses with stirrups are not in Boston, but in Philadelphia; on the other hand, two Chinese stelae in Boston, dated 529 and 554, show excellent representations of stirrups. Stirrups cannot be traced in China before, nor does the character for stirrups, with radical denoting metal, come into use until after, the Han period; it is much more likely that the stirrup was introduced into China with the trade in horses from Central Asia in the 4th or 5th century than that it was invented in China.<sup>1</sup>

The author asserts (p. 269) that Indian iconography does not afford a single example of a woman on horseback; but see Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XXXII, 6, and Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, pl. XXX, 6, while in more recent times the equestrian abilities of Rajput women are well known, and examples are found in Rajput paintings. Why are the Gandhāran sculptures, figs. 104, 105, 266, dated in the 6th, 8th, and 5th centuries? and what is meant when (p. 231) we read of "the bas-reliefs of the temple of Amarāvati and other (*sic*) Graeco-Buddhist bas-reliefs"? Ankor

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<sup>1</sup> As recently pointed out by Zoltán de Takács, "L'Art des grandes migrations en Hongrie et en Extrême-Orient", *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, VII, 1931, p. 71.

Wāt is dated 9th century in place of early 12th, the Bayoñ 8th century in place of late 12th. The Indian (Mughal) paintings, figs. 109, 363, 365, 441, are of the 18th, not the 15th century. No reference is made (p. 387) to E. W. Hopkins, "Notes from India," *JAOS* 19 (1898), 2 and 22 (1901), 2, where Indian bits and bridles are discussed.

No one can be a first hand authority in every department of the archaeology of the world; but we have a right to expect something better than this from an encyclopaedic work purporting to be authoritative.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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*Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra*. Vol. I. *Ādiśvaracaritra*. Translated into English by HELEN M. JOHNSON, Ph. D. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 51). Baroda: ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, 1931. Pp. xx + 530, with 5 illustrations. Rs. 15.

For a number of years Dr. Helen M. Johnson has been occupied with translating the voluminous, important, and hitherto untranslated *Triṣaṣṭīśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (Lives of the Sixty-three Illustrious Personages) of the Jain monk Hemacandra. In the prosecution of her purpose she has spent a number of years in India reading the text with learned Jain sādhus that she might get their help on the many passages that need more illumination than can be obtained from our existing works of reference. The present volume, containing the lives of the first Tirthaṃkara, Ṛṣabha, and his son Bharata, the first Cakravartin, is the initial instalment of her work, and its high value is at once apparent.

The translation is based upon the unsatisfactory edition of Bhavnagar, 1905—I believe no other has ever been published—but with this Dr. Johnson has compared five (paper?) MSS in Baroda, Poona, and Bhavnagar, and readings supplied her from (palm-leaf?) MSS at Patan and Cambay. The MSS are not precisely identified for us, but if those at Cambay and Patan are the ones I should suppose were used, they are probably the oldest MSS of the *Triṣaṣṭī* in existence. The results of Dr. Johnson's comparisons are not given as critical notes to the text but as a list of Text Corrections without citation of specific authority. Hence the cor-

rections are not all easy to evaluate: most of them are obvious improvements, some being the rectification of misprints; an occasional one seems not necessarily inevitable (e. g. 1. 227, 1. 272, 1. 714) but may be demanded by manuscript readings.

The Ādiśvaracaritra, with its combination of legend and sermon, is, as Dr. Johnson properly remarks, "almost a handbook of Jainism", and it is therefore deserving of the copious notes and appendixes with which she has enriched the translation. Her book, with this added material, does indeed become a handbook of Jain doctrine, especially the Śvetāmbara, containing an ordered presentation of cosmography, Karma, the fourteen Guṇasthānas, the nine Tattvas, and the qualities of the Pañcaparameṣṭhins, and in addition has many useful scattered notes on cult and social practices. The material is, wherever possible, drawn from original sources, and corrects a number of minor errors in previous studies. Her scholarly work, therefore, is not merely a definitive translation of Hemacandra's first parvan, but also a contribution to the interpretation of Jainism.

The translation itself, which is the chief portion of the work, is most carefully made. In a close examination of a number of passages I have found almost nothing to which I can offer constructive objections. The rendering is in general literal and accurate, yet readable, with due account taken of the puns that are the bane of most such work. On two passages I should like to offer notes; one of them Dr. Johnson herself has recognized as difficult.

The first is in 2. 618-9:

*evam śrīdāmagāṇḍam ca svarṇaprākāranīrmitam  
vicitraratnahārārdhahārārdhyaṃ hemabhāskaram  
upari svāmīno dṛṣṭivīnodāya purandaraḥ  
vitāne sthāpayām āsa nabhasīva nabhomaṇim*

This is translated (p. 129): "So Purandara placed on the canopy above the Master to amuse his eyes a śrīdāmagāṇḍa, made of gold-leaf, a golden sun rich with necklaces and half-necklaces of various jewels, like the sun in the sky." The critical words here are *dāmagāṇḍa* and *prākāra*. Dr. Johnson takes *dāmagāṇḍa* or rather *śrīdā*°, to mean "a gold ornament" (see p. 475); rather *dāmagāṇḍa* means something like "garland-cluster" (cf. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen* 18.14; Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 56 n; Pāṇi *Sadda Mahanṇavo*, s. v. *gaṇḍa*, Hindi *gaṇḍā*), and *śrīdā*° is probably to

be taken as a compound meaning "having a cluster (or clusters) of garlands". The word *prākāra* is taken by Dr. Johnson in her footnote to be equivalent to a Prakrit representation of an original Sanskrit *patra*, but this seems entirely unlikely. Instead, it seems better considered as a derivative of *prakāra* "sort, kind", and is to be taken as meaning "etc."; cf. *Pāṇi Sudda Mahanāvato* s. v. *pagāra*. The entire passage I should render: "Similarly Purandara placed . . . a golden sun (i. e., a golden ball that shone like the sun), with lovely clusters of garlands, which was made of gold etc., and was rich with . . ." The passage is excellently illuminated by a passage at the corresponding point in the story of Pārśvanātha's birth as told by Devendra in his *ṭīkā* to Uttarādhyayana XXIII (text and translation by Charpentier in *ZDMG* 69. 321 ff.; our passage on p. 332, lines 19-21, and p. 351, lines 26-29; Charpentier edited the passage wrongly and did not understand it): *egam tavanijja lambūsagam siri dāma gaṇḍa mani rayana maṇḍiyam hār'āi sobhiyam bhayavao ditthie abhirai heum ulloe nikkhivai* "He (Śakra) put on the ceiling to delight the Master's sight a golden ball ornamented with splendid garland-clusters, pearls, and jewels, adorned with necklaces etc." The object described by Hemacandra was a ball for the amusement of the infant Rṣabha, but a very fine one.

Another passage is in 2. 533, where the lustration of the infant Rṣabha is described, and deals with the passing of the water-pitchers from god to god:

*vṛndārakāṇām hasteṣu hastebhyah saṃcariṣṇavaḥ  
babhrājire te kalaśāḥ śrīmatām bālakā iva*

The translation (p. 123) reads: "Moving from hand to hand of the gods, the pitchers looked like small boys of the wealthy". I suggest reading *vālakā(s)* for *bālaka(s)* and translating the word "ring, seal-ring"; cf. Monier-Williams s. v. *vālaka*, *vālikā*, and Schmidt, *Nachträge zu Boehtlingk Sanskrit Wörterbuch* s. v. *vālaka*. The emendation is trifling, and gives the passage excellent sense.

This work will have many uses to scholars, and it is gratifying to know that Dr. Johnson is planning to publish a translation of the rest of Hemacandra's text. Much of the remainder, I believe, is already far advanced in preparation.

*The Elephant-Lore of the Hindus.* The Elephant-Sport (Mātāṅga-Līlā) of Nīlakaṇṭha. Translated from the original Sanskrit with introduction, notes, and glossary, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1931. Pp. xx + 129. \$2.00

This work serves a double purpose. It gives us a reliable translation of the Hindu work on "elephantology" called the Mātāṅga-Līlā, displacing the translation by Zimmer (1929); and it gives a valuable lexicon of technical terms dealing with elephants, which will be helpful in the interpretation of many passages in Indian literature. The translation of the text has been made with the aid of information drawn from the Hastyāyurveda and a MS of a work on elephant-science now lying in the Tanjore palace library, where I myself had the good-fortune to see it in 1929. It would have been an addition in vividness (if not in art) to Professor Edgerton's work if he could have reproduced some of the paintings that accompany this MS, but he had only a copy of the MS to use. To check the statements of the Hindus about elephants, Edgerton consulted modern zoölogical accounts of that animal, from which it appears, first, that the Hindus had a large fund of very accurate knowledge about the elephant, and, secondly, that modern scientific knowledge of the animal is far from complete. Some of the phenomena mentioned by the Hindus still remain to be tested scientifically.

There is no effort to exploit the abundant material on the elephant in literature, religion, folk magic, which would have carried the author into researches of great length. Among the few statements which Edgerton permits himself in the wider field, there is one (p. xiv) which I believe should be challenged: "I do not believe that the practitioners of *gaja-śāstra*, or Indians generally, ever thought of elephants primarily, if at all, as magical bringers of rain." Without setting out upon a study of that topic, I should like to call attention to the rain-bringing elephant of Prince Vessantara in the Vessantara Jātaka, and to rites of human sacrifice to rain-bringing elephants (in symbolic form) as described in Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India* (1912), pp. 202 f. Also, the notion of the *dhānnāgas* seems hard to understand unless it is based on a belief in the rain-bringing qualities of elephants (the way an elephant sprays water with his trunk would naturally form a basis for a myth).



The various Indian sciences offer an attractive field of study, as this work illustrates. Some have been treated already; others remain. The exploration of works dealing with them not only assists the student of literature; it may also contribute an item here and there to natural science.

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*Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District.* By T. N. RAMACHANDRAN. (Bulletin of the Madras Museum — New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Part 1). Madras: GOVERNMENT PRESS, 1929. Pp. 47, with 12 plates. Rs. 2/12.

A handful of sculptures from a stupa mound in the Guntur region, belonging to the "Amaravati School", is here briefly, accurately, and scientifically described by Mr. Ramachandran. Every piece is clearly identified and compared, in tabular arrangement, with similar scenes in other sculpture of the same school. This table shows the parallel representations, and at the same time helps in dating the Goli finds, which Mr. Ramachandran considers from various points of view, and puts in the late (fourth) Amaravati period. Mr. Ramachandran's method is one of perfect clarity, and his small monograph is a good piece of scholarship.

While every scene is most plausibly identified, I should make a small suggestion concerning the details of one. In the case of the visit of the Buddha to his wife Yaśodharā (Plate II F, described pp. 5-7), I would suggest that instead of reading the scenes from left to right, we should read them from right to left, as in the Nalagiri scene (Plate III H). We would then have at the extreme right Rāhula asking his mother to go visit the Buddha, while she refuses; in the center she would be seated waiting for the Buddha, while Rāhula, appearing before her, goes to invite him; at the left, the Buddha is entering the apartment, while Rāhula greets him, and Yaśodharā, at the extreme left, falls to her knees. In the case of Plates I, IV, and VIII, the couples should perhaps be regarded as auspicious Mithuna couples.

There is much more material in the Madras Government Museum, and in the Madras Presidency, which the Museum could well consider having Mr. Ramachandran publish.

W. NORMAN BROWN.

University of Pennsylvania.

*Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra.* By DAISSETZ TEITARO SUZUKI.

London: GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD. 1930. 20s. Pp.

xxxii + 464.

This is, in several respects, the weightiest volume that has come to us from the pen of Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki. Departing from his earlier method of expounding doctrines of Mahāyānism, particularly Zen, with samplings from a wide variety of sources,<sup>1</sup> he has here concentrated upon the teachings of a single text, long recognized as of basic importance in several Mahāyānist schools, including Zen and Yogācāra. The result is a work unified, instructive, and suggestive for further research. While the interest is still predominantly philosophical and doctrinal the author shows that he is not unaware of the issues raised by problems of historical and textual criticism.

The first third of the book is occupied with the Introduction. The source texts are described; the Sanskrit published in 1923 by the late Dr. Bunyū Nanjō, one Tibetan translation, and three Chinese translations. A critical comparison of a section in parallel renderings, carried far enough to illustrate characteristic differences, gives a hint of numerous textual problems still awaiting solution by exhaustive treatment. No light is forth-coming on the important question as to the date of composition of the Sanskrit *Laṅkāvatāra*, nor as to its documentary relationship to earlier or later sūtras. There grows, however, the more or less indistinct picture of some early disciple setting down in detached notes the oral teachings of his time, without intention of orderly arrangement, notes which with some later additions and changes became the *Laṅkāvatāra* which we have today. Following this critical section come valuable passages translated from traditional Buddhist histories relative to the connection of the *Laṅkāvatāra* with the Zen patriarchs and to its study in China and Japan. A translation of the summarizing introductory chapter of the Sūtra brings the reader into immediate contact with the style and ideas of the work.

Insight and philosophic skill mark the treatment of the second part of the book which is concerned with the *Laṅkāvatāra* as the intellectual expression par excellence of Zen Buddhism. A masterly

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<sup>1</sup> As in his *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*, London, 1907, and *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, London, 1927.

analysis of the experience of "inmost realization" (*pratyātmagati*) unfolds an intelligible account of its relations in logic, psychology and the practical life. The author knows how to clothe his thought in appropriate philosophical language, and his careful expositions of both Chinese and Sanskrit terms place all Western readers in his debt. It is recognized that the same subject-matter viewed from different angles may be approached with differing logical or psychological categories. Hence the great wealth of Buddhist technical terms indicative of significant nuances in thought and experience. Epistemological and psychological distinctions learned here may conceivably be useful in studying texts other than the *Laṅkāvatāra*.

Students of Yogācāra philosophy will appreciate especially the last third of the book which treats of important theories in the *Sūtra* other than those of Zen. A conception of "mind-only" (*cittamātra*) is found, which is apparently an earlier and broader statement of the doctrine refined by Asaṅga and Vasubandhu as "consciousness-only" (*viññānamātra*) or "representation-only" (*viññaptimātra*). The doctrine of "no-birth" (*anutpāda*) is interpreted as a condition "transcending relativity", a cessation of the illusion-weaving activity of the mind, which is in essence the Buddhist conception of immortality. A doctrine of a Buddha Trinity is noted which seems to be a forerunner of the developed later theory of "triple body" (*trikāya*) which allows for the notion of one Absolute Truth (*tathatā*) expressing itself in several essential functions. In fact the impression is left upon the reader that the *Laṅkāvatāra* represents in germ early intuitive insights which furnished the material for systematic philosophical elaboration at a somewhat later period. The certainty and detail of such relationship cannot be determined until much more work is done both on the *Laṅkāvatāra* and on the other great Mahāyāna sūtras. But in the meantime Mr. Suzuki has made substantial contribution in introducing this great, if still puzzling, sūtra to the English-speaking world.

Mention must not be omitted of the Sanskrit-Chinese-English Glossary which fills pages 375-458. In intention it was prepared principally for the benefit of Japanese and Chinese readers. But all Westerners working with Sanskrit-Chinese texts will find it convenient, especially since in addition to brief definitions and quotations explanatory of the technical terms listed, it refers to relevant

passages in the body of the book where more extended discussions may be found. It can be useful for reading other Mahāyānist texts than the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra.

C. H. HAMILTON.

Oberlin College.

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*Noted Porcelains of Successive Dynasties*, with comments and illustrations by HSIANG YÜAN-PIEN. Revised and annotated by KUO PAO-CH'ANG and JOHN C. FERGUSON. Peiping: CH'AI CHAI PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1931. Large folio size. 85 plates in colors.

Hsiang Yüan-pien, better known to us under his *hao* Mo-lin (1525-90), famed as an art collector, critic, painter, and calligraphist, was the first and only Chinese who conceived the idea of preparing a catalogue of porcelains with illustrations of the objects, after the model of the earlier catalogues of ancient bronzes, such as the *Kao ku t'u* and *Po ku t'u lu*. His illustrations were colored, but his manuscript was not published during his lifetime. It came into the possession of the Manchu prince Yi and finally passed into the hands of S. W. Bushell, who took it to London, where it perished in a fire. Fortunately copies of it had previously been made in China; one of these was subsequently obtained by Bushell who published a translation of it with the illustrations in colors in 1908. Dr. Ferguson and his Chinese collaborator discovered another copy of the manuscript made by the same artist at a somewhat earlier date, in 1886, and give good reasons for their conviction that the manuscript found in the palace of Prince Yi was not the original of Hsiang Mo-lin, but a copy made by his descendants. Dr. Ferguson spent several years on a careful study of the manuscript and noted a number of errors and misstatements in Hsiang's text. This research led to the republication of the entire work, giving the complete revised Chinese text with an English translation and a number of learned annotations. A portrait of the author with a brief sketch of his life is prefaced to the volume, also an illustration of the goose-shaped ink-palette, used by him, kept in a box of sandalwood (referred to merely under its Chinese name *tse t'an*, which is *Pterocarpus santalinus*; see *Sino-*

*Iranica*, p. 459). A table of the porcelain glazes in Chinese and English, mentioned in the text, is extremely valuable to the student.

This is one of the most beautiful books which it has ever been my good fortune to see; it is a most perfect specimen of printing on hand-made bamboo paper, with binding in Chinese style; the colored reproductions are exquisite, so are the yellow silk wrappers and the case mounted on yellow silk with the imprint of the title in gold.

Hsiang has adopted no system of classification for his porcelains; those produced by the same kilns of the Sung and Ming periods are separated and appear scattered without any order. It would have been preferable to disregard this fortuitous arrangement of the plates and to rearrange the objects in chronological sequence and according to kilns; for instance, all the Ju yao, Ko yao, Kwan yao, and so on, together. This would have facilitated the use of the volume considerably, especially as it is devoid of an index. For the rest, Dr. Ferguson's work is a vast improvement on Bushell's both as to the text, which is critically emendated, and translation.

A few observations on technical terms, which occurred to me while reading the book, may follow. The rendering "the glaze is of light greenish blue tone, as clear and transparent as a precious beryl" (plate 2) is not exact. The text has 如鴉鵒青寶石, which means "like the ruby (*ya-hu* is transcription of Arabic *yaqūt*, going back to the Yüan period) and sapphire." The plant 蓍 *shi*, the stalks of which were anciently used for purposes of divination, is erroneously explained as a species of *Artemisia*; it is the milfoil (*Achillea millefolium*). The sunflower appears twice (plates 46 and 67), but Hsiang Mo-lin could not have been acquainted with it; for the sunflower is a plant of North American origin and was introduced into China in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is first described in the *Hua king* ("Mirrors of Flowers") by Ch'en Hao-tse in 1688. Giles (*Pictorial Art*, 2d ed., p. 111), following Pang Lai-chen, has a sunflower even in a Sung painting by Chao Ch'ang. The flower in question is a species of mallow.

All students of Chinese art will be grateful to Dr. Ferguson for this superb publication which is a fundamental work for the study of porcelains. Dr. Ferguson hopes to carry this work beyond Hsiang's album and to base it upon the study of many examples in

the Palace Museum. We look forward to these researches with keen anticipation.

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*Trails to Inmost Asia. Five Years of Exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition.* By GEORGE N. ROERICH. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1931. 504 p.

Dr. Roerich has written a vivid and entertaining account of the five years' expedition sponsored and led by his father, Nicholas Roerich, through Central Asia. The party started from Darjeeling in 1925, traversing Kashmir and Ladakh to Khotan and Kashgar, exploring Chinese Turkestan, Dzungaria, and Mongolia, crossing the Gobi Desert and returning by way of eastern and central Tibet to Darjeeling in May 1930. This volume is not merely a dry travel narrative and a recital of personal adventures, but is thickly interlarded with many interesting contributions to archaeology and to Tibetan and Mongol literatures. The author has also recorded incidents of contemporaneous history and has described the life and culture of the natives, being guided by a good knowledge of their languages. It is of course impossible to sum up or review all the new data of a book of such compass; so I shall confine myself to a few observations that may be of interest to orientalists.

The author gives some interesting information on the epic poem of Gesar, and I concur with him and Poppe in the view that the greater part of it originated among the nomadic tribes of Tibet; this, of course, does not preclude the possibility of many motives being derived from foreign sources. However, I do not agree with him in regarding the Gesar saga as "a class of Bon literature." It has nothing to do with Bon religion and simply belongs to the national literature of Tibet, in the same manner as the Chinese romance of the Three Kingdoms is part of the national literature of China and belongs neither to Confucianism nor to Taoism. The Russian Academy of Sciences is not the only one that possesses the Gesar epic. The Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde has one printed volume (out of three) obtained by the brothers Schlagintweit, which fact controverts the author's assertion that "all copies of this important work are in manuscript form." In fact, an edition in three volumes has been printed at Lhasa. The Pierpont Morgan

Library in New York has a beautifully written manuscript formerly in the possession of the Tashi Lama, procured by me for Mr. Morgan, and I have myself a manuscript edition from the hand of Karl Marx. The Library of Congress owns a summarized life of Gesar presented by W. W. Rockhill.

Dr. Roerich (p. 360) says that "during the Manchu rule, King Gesar was proclaimed under the name of Huang-ti, the divine protector of the Manchu dynasty. In Tibet all temples dedicated to Huang-ti are said to be temples of Gesar." This is not Huang-ti, but Kuan-ti, so-called god of war. Klaproth devoted a special article to the identification made by the Chinese of Gesar with Kuan-ti.

There is no connection between the modern Ladākhi term *argon* ("half-breed, hybrid," used with reference to both man and animals) and the old Central-Asiatic term for the Nestorians, *ärkägün* or *arkawün* (p. 29), as I explained in *T'oung Pao*, 1918, p. 493. The misprint "Lone Stone" (p. 415) instead of "Long Stone" should be mentioned, as the reader unacquainted with Tibetan could not detect it, for this is the literal meaning of *Do-ring*.

Dr. Roerich was informed by the abbot of the Sharugön Monastery that "no printed copies of the Bon scriptures exist and that all existing copies are manuscript." More fortunate than this abbot, I saw in 1909 in the house of a Bon layman in western Szech'wan, where I spent the night, a printed edition of the Bon Kanjur; it was beautifully printed, and he gave me some specimen folios as a souvenir. I availed myself of this opportunity to read several treatises in this edition. These were simply modeled after Buddhistic sūtras, the Buddhistic terms being changed into the corresponding Bon terms. I think that a study of this so-called Bon Kanjur is not worth any one's time and energy. In the kingdom of Tantung, whose prince is an adherent of the Bon and in whose palace I enjoyed hospitality for a week, I acquired a large number of Bon manuscripts and prints. Rockhill, in a letter to Rhys Davids (*JRAS*, 1892, p. 599), already wrote with reference to the Bon, "At the Shachung gomba [*dgon-pa*] they print books, and it would be well if some one visited the palace, as they might have books of interest, although the two I have read of theirs were a jumble of Lamaist works and of undoubtedly recent date."

The author's notes on the Bon religion (there is no reason for writing Bön as he does, Bon is the correct Tibetan form and established in our literature for several generations) are most interesting, and his promised translation of a Bon text (p. 354) is eagerly anticipated.

I doubt very much the correctness of the assertion that the Kanjur and Tanjur of Derge are usually printed on thick Chinese paper from metal blocks. I was at Derge myself and acquired there a good many Tibetan books, all printed on Tibetan paper from wooden blocks; paper is manufactured in the Derge district, and neither there nor anywhere else in Tibet or China have I heard of any prints from metal blocks. I do not understand why the author writes Känjür and Tänjür (a pronunciation which I have never heard) instead of Kanjur and Tanjur adopted by the whole world during the last two centuries. There is enough confusion in the spelling of oriental names, and it is unnecessary that every new author add fuel to this confusion by his own personal preferences. And why use the spelling Ch'ien-long if every one else now writes Ch'ien-lung?

The statement that the first Tibetan books were printed at Peking about A. D. 1069 (p. 138) is not correct. This is traceable to a mistranslation by A. Forke, who in a Chinese inscription of that year in the temple Ta-kio-se near Peking misunderstood the term Tsang king ("Tripiṭaka") for Tibetan sūtras; the question is merely one of a translation of Buddhistic literature into Chinese; at that time there were no Lamas in Peking.

The volume is accompanied by numerous excellent illustrations chiefly reproduced from paintings of Nicholas Roerich and a map. It is a fine example of bookmaking, on which the Yale University Press merits hearty congratulations. It is the fourteenth volume published by it from the income of the Philip Hamilton McMillan Memorial Publication Fund established in 1922.

B. LAUFER.

Field Museum,  
Chicago.



*The Temples of Anking and Their Cults.* A Study of Modern Chinese Religion. By JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK. Foreword by KARL LUDVIG REICHELT. Paris: P. GEUTHNER, 1931. 36 plates; 206 pp.

Compiled through a number of years, and limited to the phenomena of a particular locale, the typical central China city of Anking, this fresh investigation of China's temples and their related cults possesses unusual value. The introduction and the succeeding chapter provide a general discussion of some fundamental aspects of Chinese religions, for which the subsequent six chapters, each dealing with a special class of temples determined by the cult, adduce a wealth of detail. A comprehensive list of Chinese sources appears in the Index. The omission of the notable publications of H. Maspero and M. Granet from the bibliography of Western authorities, is doubtless accounted for by the evident completion of the manuscript prior to the appearance in 1927 and 1929 of the definitive works of these sinologists.

Dr. Shryock's monograph suggests a possible revaluation of the traditional attitude towards Chinese religious practices. Is it necessarily true, for example, that the Chinese reveal in the multitude of their canonized personages a clear-cut polytheism (p. 17)? It has been customary to stigmatize the euhemeristic hierarchy of Chinese cults as "gods" and their iconographical representations as "idols". But many of these, aside from the purely local tutelary deities, such as the *Hsieh Chi* (*Shê Chi*, p. 129, "Spirits of the Land and Grain"), the *Ho Shen* (*Huo Shên*, p. 121, "Fire God"), and the *T'u Ti* (p. 129, "Earth Gods"), reflect fairly faithfully the rôles of the "saints" of the Western calendar. Apart from certain primitive and perhaps animistic concepts of earliest China, the divinities of popular worship as revealed in the temples of Anking, are the heroes of Chinese legend and more frequently frankly historical personages. These have been adopted as "patron saints" by special groups, whether guilds or larger congregations. Anthropomorphism has been no more characteristic of the Chinese than with ourselves (p. 11). The Chinese "Trinity", the Three Holy Ones, *San Shen* (*San Shêng*, pp. 131 f.), Confucius (or Kuan-ti), Lao Tzŭ and Fo (Buddha), actually if not by official prescription, points to a popularly syncretized monotheism,

for the worship of Shang-ti was reserved as an Imperial ceremonial (p. 17).

The rites associated with ancestor worship, a traditionally controversial question (p. 57), are especially well exemplified in the Anking temples (chap.: Ancestral Temples). Dr. Shryock is convinced that ancestor worship is a religious observance "because the same rite is used in the worship of unquestioned gods like Shang Ti". Yet it is conceivable that such rites differ only in elaboration rather than in principle from our own gestures of respect at the graves of our dead. The distinction throughout would appear to be that the Chinese have retained what the earlier Mediterranean world held, sharply rationalized concepts (cf. the *conclamatio* and *chao hun*).

Dr. Shryock has added valuable material from the district *Chih*, "gazetteer", which especially since the Ming era has provided local records for every region of the Empire. The *Huailing* (*Huai-ning*) *hsien chih*, the latest edition published in 1915 (p. 26), has been drawn upon for historical data and statistical material, and for essays on temples and divinities. The variety of information contained in this work, which to be sure requires critical treatment, is indicated in the table of contents (Appendix 2).

The volume emphasizes the technical difficulties as yet encountered in the publication of scientific sinological treatises in this country, when as a rule the author's text must be handled by a European press (cf. *Ch'u Hou Chieh*, p. 118, *Shu Shih Chang*, p. 18). Errors in transcription are not so readily explainable, although deviations from the accepted transliterations of many words may be accounted for by the local dialect of *mandarin* of Anhui (p. 23). But even so, there is a noticeable lack of uniformity in many cases, while obvious distinctions are not observed. For example, *Shên* (spirit) and *shêng* (saint) are uniformly rendered *shen*; *t'an* (altar) and *t'ang* (hall) are both *t'an*; these are scarcely excusable. *Chuang Yuen* (literary optimus, p. 58 et al.) appears as *Chuan Yuen*, with another character of the same phonology, rendered as *Chuang* immediately following the former in the Index (p. 196). The reader conversant with Chinese, is however, not dependent on such faulty romanization, for there is a generous insertion of the corresponding characters in the Appendices and the excellent Index. Titles of reign eras (*nien hao*)

are occasionally given as the names of dynastic rulers (p. 132). Photographs enable the reader to visualize much of the textual material, while vivid and sympathetic eye-witness descriptions of the temples and principal festivals (pp. 69, 83, 105), as well as several translations from Chinese texts and monuments (pp. 48, 51), lend color to the narrative.

ESSON M. GALE.

University of California.

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*The Autobiography of a Chinese Historian, Being the Preface to a Symposium on Ancient Chinese History (Ku Shih Pien).*

Translated and annotated by ARTHUR W. HUMMEL. Leyden: BRILL, 1931. xlii + 200 pages.

Dr. Hummel deserves the thanks of all those interested in things Chinese for this admirable piece of work. The Chinese original was written by a contemporary Chinese scholar, Ku Chieh-kang, as an introduction to a symposium on Chinese history. It is a type of composition unfamiliar to the west, an autobiographical essay designed to describe the development of the author's point of view as expressed in the larger work to which the essay is an introduction.

The first part of the work describes the author's education, and should be made compulsory reading for any American author who attempts to portray the Chinese mind. This is followed by an account of the intellectual struggles of an educated Chinese during the present shifting of values and dislocation of culture which is going on in China. The reasoning is naïve at times, but the problems are real and vivid. Mr. Ku also manages to include considerable information about Chinese folklore and religion. The book gives a striking picture of a highly intelligent man, educated in the Chinese classics, suddenly forced to orient himself to the new learning of the west. After reading the book, the reader feels that he knows and understands Mr. Ku better than he does many of his American friends.

The translation is good, and the notes are careful and adequate. The introduction, containing a résumé of Chinese critical scholarship, is valuable in itself.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

University of Pennsylvania.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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The Executive Committee has elected the following persons as corporate members:

Prof. J. McKee Adams	Miss Frances E. Humphrey
Mr. Allen D. Albert, Jr.	Mr. Sydney Kasper
Prof. Edwin Brown Allen	Mr. Robert McDowell
Mrs. Louis E. Asher	Mr. W. H. Noble, Jr.
Prof. Thomas Allan Brady	Prof. Jacob H. Quiring
Rev. Robert E. Chandler	Mr. Rowland Rathbun
Dr. James E. Dean	Prof. J. W. Swain
Mr. Waldo H. Dubberstein	Mr. Zachary Taylor
Mr. Hugh W. Ghormley	Mrs. Stephen van R. Trowbridge
Miss Louise W. Hackney	Mr. Blair Werness
Mr. Richard T. Hallock	Rev. Lazarus Yaure
Rev. David S. Herrick	Mr. N. Zackai

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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### LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

A new Oriental periodical, *Indian Linguistics*, is being published by the Linguistic Society of India, under the editorship of Professor A. C. Woolner, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, and Professor Gauri Shankar. The journal is to appear at various times during the year. The first issue contains a message from Sir George Grierson, a statement concerning the Linguistic Society of India and the journal, articles by Professor I. J. S. Taraporewala, "A New View-point for Vernacular Grammars"; Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, "Recursives in New Indo-Aryan"; and Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, "The Dravidian Base 'U!'" ; communications from Professors Sten Konow, A. V. Williams Jackson, Louis H. Gray, and Dharendra Varma; an account of the proceedings of the biennial meeting of the Linguistic Society of India at Patna, 1930; and a statement concerning the Grierson Commemoration Volume. This journal has unusual opportunities for presenting material concerning Indian linguistics, and the character of the articles in the first issue is an excellent promise of future publications. The annual subscription price is Rs. 12. All communications should be addressed to "The Honorary Secretary, Linguistic Society of India, Government College, Lahore, India".

## INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PREHISTORIC AND PROTOHISTORIC SCIENCES

The British Organizing Committee desire to bring to the notice of archaeologists the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, which will be held in London from August 1st-6th, 1932. The Congress will be divided into sections, the third of which deals with the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages in the Ancient World. Historical civilizations will be dealt with only in so far as the material is auxiliary to prehistoric and protohistoric studies or is treated according to their methods. The British Organizing Committee cordially invite the co-operation of archaeologists engaged in research in Egypt and the Near East, more especially those interested in the relations of the Near East with the ancient Mediterranean world and the area of the Caucasus and South Russia. Agenda and invitations will gladly be sent on application to the Secretary of the British Organizing Committee, Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London, W. 1.

## FONDATION DE GOEJE

Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de changements depuis le mois de novembre 1930 et se compose donc de M. M. C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier). Conformément aux statuts, M. de Boer, à cause de son départ d'Amsterdam, a donné sa démission comme membre du bureau.

Le bureau espère pouvoir faire paraître sous peu, comme no. 9 des éditions de la fondation: *Das Konstantinopler Fragment des Kitâb iḥtilâf al-fuqahâ des at-Tabarî*, herausgegeben etc. von Prof. Dr. Joseph Schacht.

Le bureau examine encore avec M. M. D. van der Meulen et H. von Wissmann un projet de publication des résultats de leur voyage récent à travers Haḍramaut.

Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués: 1. Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Ḥamâsah* de al-Buḥturî (1909), fl. 96; 2. *Kitâb al-Fâkkhîr* de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6; 3. *Streitschrift des Gazâlî gegen die Bâtinijja-Sekte*, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4. 50; 4. *Bar Hebraeus's Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4. 50; 5. *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen*, par C. van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6; 6. *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10; 7. *Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes*, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7. 50; 8. *Les "Livres des Chevaux"*, par G. Levi Della Vida (1928), fl. 5.

## HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE

The Harvard-Yenching Institute announces it has secured all rights in Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, together with the remaining copies of the revised edition of this work, and offers it for sale at \$5.00. It may be ordered from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

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## COWLEY MEMORIAL

A fund is being formed to commemorate the late Sir Arthur Cowley's lifelong devotion to the cause of good learning and his thirty-five years' service in the Bodleian Library. It will be employed for the furtherance in Oxford of the Hebrew and kindred studies in which he was specially interested; and it is hoped that the sum raised may be sufficient to provide a permanent endowment which shall bear his name.

Friends who wish to subscribe are invited to communicate with the Secretary to the Librarian, Bodleian Library, Oxford, or with Mr. G. R. Driver, Magdalen College. Contributions may also be sent direct to Barclays Bank, High Street, Oxford, for the Cowley Memorial Fund.

F. HOMES DUDDEN, *Vice-Chancellor*.

GEORGE GORDON, *President of Magdalen College*.

G. A. COOKE, *Regius Professor of Hebrew*.

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## CONFERENCE ON FAR EASTERN STUDIES

A Summer Seminar on Far Eastern Studies will be held at Harvard University, July 6th to August 7th, 1932, under the joint auspices of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the Committees of the American Council of Learned Societies for the Promotion of Chinese and Japanese Studies, and the Society for the Promotion of Japanese Studies. The staff of instruction will be Arthur W. Hummel, of the Library of Congress; Lucius C. Porter, of Yenching University; and Langdon Warner, of the Fogg Museum. Further details can be obtained from the secretary, Mortimer Graves, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C.

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MAX LEOPOLD MARGOLIS

## MAX LEOPOLD MARGOLIS

OCTOBER 15, 1866—APRIL 2, 1932

THE EDITORS record their profound sorrow upon the passing of their colleague Professor Margolis. He had been a member of the editorial Board since 1925, and its senior Editor since 1926, serving to the time of his death.

The whole learned world recognizes Dr. Margolis's primacy in his chosen fields, in Semitic philology, in Biblical translation and commentary, and in that delicate and difficult field of text-criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures to which he devoted his last years with single-eyed fidelity and for which he literally gave his life. But we would testify to his relations with this Board. He brought to us the inestimable quality of authority, on which his colleagues could always depend with assurance. Never speaking from the house-tops nor asserting a superficial knowledge, in matters of scholarship he spoke without prejudice or assumption. Naturally cautious and conservative, with continuous application to the most rigorous disciplines of philology, he gave judgments that were ripe and sure, always expressive of scholarly principle. In such qualities his colleagues placed their trust with peculiar confidence.

It remains for others to speak at length on Dr. Margolis's labors in the several fields which he graced. To us the scholar was still more the man; the elements of his scholarship were expressions of his character. In that were exhibited the same simplicity, directness, integrity, and humaneness. The world honors in him the scholar; we have been privileged to know the man, and we can vouch that he was authentic in his life and character, as he was in his words and works.

W. NORMAN BROWN

JOHN K. SHRYOCK

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

Editors

## THE LIFE AND WORK OF MAX LEOPOLD MARGOLIS

THE WORLD of Semitic studies, as well as that of Biblical interpretation, has suffered a great loss in the passing of Max Leopold Margolis. Born at Meretz, in the government of Wilna, on October 15, 1866, the son of Isaac Margolis, himself a scholar, he received his first training at the elementary school of his native village, and his introduction into Hebrew and Talmudic studies from his father. At the age of ten, he was sent to the Leibnitz Gymnasium of Berlin—one of the best of its kind at that time—where he got his secular, and especially his philological training, and where he became a finished Greek and Latin scholar, this knowledge standing him in good stead in the work that he was destined to do in later years. He remained in Berlin for seven years, graduating from the Gymnasium in 1885. His father had been called to New York as Rabbi, but died in the year 1887. In 1889 Max Margolis himself came to New York and pursued further studies at Columbia College—as the whole institution was then called—securing his A.M. degree in 1890 and the Ph.D. degree in 1891, with Semitic languages at his subject of major interest. This was the first doctorate to be granted in the Oriental Department. His thesis for the doctorate was entitled *Commentarius Isaacidis Quatenus ad Textum Talmudis Investigandum Adhiberi Possit, Tractatu 'Erubhin Ostenditur*, a sort of introduction to a critical edition of the Talmud, which showed both his ability as a critic and his acumen in separating the true from the false. He then became University Fellow in Semitic Languages at Columbia and at once evinced that power for luminous, clear, and forceful teaching which was always to distinguish his work in the various positions he was to hold. That same year (1892) he published a small treatise entitled *The Columbia College Ms. of Meghilla (Babylonian Talmud)*. On the completion of this year of teaching at Columbia he became Lecturer on Jewish Literature at the Glenmore School for Culture Sciences, at Keene, N. Y., but in the same year (1892) he was called as Assistant Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Exegesis to the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. In addition to his teaching, he now continued his scientific work—this time under the auspices of Hebrew Union College. He called his first

book *An Elementary Textbook of Hebrew Accidence* which, as he says in his preface, was "the product of more than a year's hard labor", and which was inscribed "To the Venerable President of Hebrew Union College, The Rev. Dr. Isaac M. Wise". The primary object of his work was to meet the needs of the classroom, but in reality it was more than this, as it gave in compact and thoroughly scientific manner a précis of Hebrew grammar. Professor Margolis was Assistant Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures at this institution in 1897-98, and was then called to the University of California, Berkeley, where he acted as Associate Professor from 1898 to 1905, practically founding the Department of Semitic Languages there, and teaching Arabic as well as Hebrew. At the same time, he was also Superintendent of the newly created Free Schools of San Francisco—all this time being a most devoted son to his widowed mother and a help and support to the other members of his family.

During the period of his activity at Berkeley, he published a number of valuable works, notably a 142 page discussion of *The Theological Aspect of Reformed Judaism*, which was printed in 1904 by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

He then returned to Hebrew Union College, where he acted as Professor of Biblical Exegesis from 1905 to 1907, but in consequence of his Zionist opinions, which were at variance with those of the College authorities, he left Cincinnati and spent a year in the libraries of Europe (1907-1908). May we take the liberty of adding that while in California, he had in 1906 taken to wife Evelyn Kate Aronson, of San Francisco, who has ever been a true helpmeet and an aid in all his work and aspirations.

In this same year (1907), he was invited to come to Philadelphia as Editor-in-Chief and Secretary to the Board of the Bible Translation that was in preparation by the Jewish Publication Society of America. He continued these labors up to the time of the publication of this translation in 1917. While engaged in this work, he was invited to become a member of the newly founded Dropsie College, a school of Jewish learning and science in all its branches. He began his duties there in 1909 and became Secretary of the Faculty and Professor of Biblical Philology, also teaching Semitic epigraphy and Biblical exegesis.

His teaching was destined to have even a wider scope. In 1924

he became Annual Professor at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and that same year was a Professor in the Jewish University there, where he lectured in Hebrew on his favorite topics, for he spoke Hebrew as fluently as he did English. His year in Jerusalem was most fruitful despite its sorrowful ending in the death of his son; he and Mrs. Margolis bearing their grief as befits truly religious people.

During all these years of teaching, Margolis was most active with his pen. He wrote for the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, and the *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. In addition, he published an article on "The Character of the Anonymous Greek Version of Habakkuk, Chapter 3", in the memorial volume to William Rainey Harper published by his friends and admirers under the title, *Old Testament and Semitic Studies* (Chicago, 1908); an article in the volume published in honor of the seventieth birthday of Dr. K. Kohler, in 1913; another in the one gotten out in memory of Abraham Harkavy, and one in memory of Israel Abrahams. Besides these, he brought out *A Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud; Grammar, Chrestomathy, and Glossaries*, a work which so far as the syntax goes—as he himself says—had no predecessor. This work had been suggested to him in 1894 by the late Professor Herrmann L. Strack, and was published by the latter in Munich in 1910 as a part of the series entitled *Clavis Linguarum Semiticarum*; he had allowed his Septuagint studies to rest for a while in order to do this important piece of work. In the meantime, he had gotten out, as the first of a series of commentaries upon the books of the Bible, published by the American Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia, 1908) a translation of, and a commentary on, the Book of Micah which, although intended primarily "for the teacher, the inquiring pupil, and the general reader", was filled with the exactitude of knowledge of his subject which so characterized all of Prof. Margolis' writings. In 1922 he published *The Hebrew Scriptures in the Making*, an account of the composition of the Hebrew Scriptures from the pre-Mosaic period down to that of the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah, the Prince. This was also published for the intelligent reader by the Jewish Publica-

tion Society of America. Many criticisms of books and articles published by others are to be found in the volumes of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*.

One of his latest works was his *History of the Jewish People*, done in collaboration with Professor Alexander Marx of the Jewish Theological Seminary of New York. It is an attempt to tell in some 737 pages the whole history of the Jewish people (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1927), and is very reliable despite the fact that some movements have been omitted which other scholars would think deserved mention.

He returned continually, however, to the subject to which he desired to devote his last years—the Septuagint and its relation to the original text of the Scriptures. Alas, he was not to carry this work through to completion, and all that we have is the first fasciculus of *The Book of Joshua*, in Greek, published in 1931.

In 1890 he had joined the American Oriental Society and from 1922 until his death he had functioned as the editor of the Semitic part of the JOURNAL published by that Society. In 1901 he became a member of the American Jewish Historical Society and in 1913 of the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis, whose Journal he edited for some years. He was also a member of the American Philological Association and of the American Philosophical Society.

And so the tale is told in brief; but it is not ended. The real scientific work of Margolis will continue to bear fruit, and the many students who passed through his hands will prolong his methods for the good of the science to which he devoted his life: "Truly the good that man doeth lives after him".

RICHARD GOTTHEIL

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

LUDLOW S. BULL

Committee on Resolutions

## NEW TABLETS FROM FARA

SAMUEL N. KRAMER

PHILADELPHIA

EXCAVATIONS at Fara <sup>1</sup> (ancient Shuruppak) <sup>2</sup> were directed by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt for the University of Pennsylvania Museum in co-operation with the American School in Baghdad during March and April, 1931. In the course of the campaign, 87 tablets <sup>3</sup> and fragments were uncovered. Of these, 84 are archaic; <sup>4</sup> one is early Sargonid; <sup>5</sup> the remaining two belong to the Ur-III period. <sup>6</sup> The archaic tablets <sup>7</sup> are of unbaked clay, <sup>8</sup> brown in color, <sup>9</sup> and vary in size from 2.5 x 2.5 x 1.8 cm. (the smallest) to 7 x 7 x 2.4 cm. (the largest). They were found at a depth varying from 0.20 to 1.30 m. below the surface of the mound. <sup>10</sup> F-974 (the early Sargonid tablet) is reddish brown in color and may have been slightly baked; it was dug up in one of the smaller brick-lined cists scattered over the Fara mound, <sup>11</sup> at a depth of 1.40 m. The two Ur-III tablets (F-973 and the fragment F-750) are also reddish brown, and may have been slightly baked. They were excavated at a depth of 5.15 m. and 4.25 m. in one of the larger cists. <sup>12</sup>

All the archaic tablets but one <sup>13</sup> are biconvex. The degree of convexity varies. The reverse of some is almost flat. Others show no such variation; both sides are equally convex. The larger tend to flatten out toward the edges, which thus become too narrow for writing. The smaller have comparatively wide edges, which the scribe uses when pressed for space. F-974 has a flat obverse, the reverse is highly convex. <sup>14</sup> F-750 and F-973 are very slightly biconvex. All the archaic tablets <sup>15</sup> but one <sup>16</sup> are square with rounded corners. The smaller tablets, therefore, present a circular appearance. F-974 is rectangular, longer than wide, so also F-973. <sup>17</sup>

Fourteen of the archaic tablets are bilateral. <sup>18</sup> All but eleven of the archaic tablets divide the written sides in two columns; eight divide them in three columns; <sup>19</sup> three tablets have no column divisions. <sup>20</sup> The Sargonid and the two Ur-III tablets are bilateral, and have no column divisions.

The columns are subdivided into spaces by means of horizontal lines. The name of the object recorded, the name of the recipient, his occupation (when stated), each usually fills a single space. The scribe began at the top of the left-hand column; upon reach-

ing the bottom of the last column of the obverse, if he still had material to record, he turned the tablet from the bottom (the lower edge of the obverse = the upper edge of the reverse) and continued his writing on the *right* column of the reverse. The first column of the obverse is always the *left*, the first column of the reverse is always the *right*. Occasionally, the scribe used the lower edge to complete his space. If, upon coming to the end of the obverse, he judged that he would need only a little space on the reverse, he drew as much of the vertical lines as was necessary for that space.<sup>21</sup> On three tablets,<sup>22</sup> he ran a horizontal line across the middle of the upper and lower edges. On one of these (F-601) this line may have been drawn for the purpose of clearly separating the obverse from the reverse. The line on the remaining two (F-511, 698) is merely ornamental; the reverse is blank.

All but one tablet,<sup>23</sup> are "Wirtschaftstexte". The following substances are recorded: še (barley),<sup>24</sup> še-kud-kaš,<sup>25</sup> še-kud-NI.GA,<sup>26</sup> še-NI.GA,<sup>27</sup> še-AŠ.BA.AN,<sup>28</sup> zíz-NI.GA,<sup>29</sup> še<sup>e</sup>zíz-ga,<sup>30a</sup> zì-NI.GA,<sup>30b</sup> zì-še (barley-flour),<sup>31</sup> zì-še-NI.GA,<sup>32</sup> zì-zíz,<sup>33</sup> zì-zíz-NI.GA,<sup>34</sup> níg-àr-ra,<sup>35</sup> níg-àr-ra-KAŠ+A,<sup>36</sup> níg-àr-ra-NI.GA,<sup>37</sup> GÚG,<sup>38</sup> šamGU,<sup>39</sup> kaš,<sup>40</sup> KAŠ+A,<sup>41</sup> kaš-níg-àr-ra,<sup>42</sup> kaš-še-kin-kud,<sup>43</sup> kaš-AŠ.BA.AN,<sup>44</sup> síg-ùz (goat-wool),<sup>45</sup> kuš-babbar (white fleece),<sup>46</sup> kù-gín (silver shekel).<sup>47</sup>

The following is a list of all the trees mentioned: GIŠTE,<sup>48</sup> GIŠRIN+A,<sup>49</sup> GIŠRIN+U,<sup>50</sup> GIŠGIR,<sup>51</sup> GIŠX (= DP II, 475, sp. 1; cf. Or. 16, p. 79),<sup>52</sup> nir-du-na (written with the GIŠ-determinative in the Urukagina text, VAT. 4724 = Or. 9-13, p. 199).<sup>53</sup>

Animals mentioned are: maš (male kid),<sup>54</sup> udu (sheep),<sup>55</sup> ha (fish),<sup>56</sup> ŠUŠ.NU.SI-sag (name of fish),<sup>57</sup> KUR.NU-sag (name of fish),<sup>58</sup> mušen (bird).<sup>59</sup>

The following are the proper names mentioned in the texts: ab,<sup>60</sup> den-ki,<sup>61</sup> den-líl,<sup>62</sup> den-líl-á-mah,<sup>63</sup> dSU.KUR.RU-da-lú,<sup>64</sup> dSU.KUR.RU-dugud<sup>bu</sup>,<sup>65</sup> dSU.KUR.RU-ḥar-tu,<sup>66</sup> dgi-bil,<sup>67</sup> dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni,<sup>68</sup> dumu-ur,<sup>69</sup> dup-pàd,<sup>70</sup> é-babbar,<sup>71</sup> é-dùg-ga-gim (written é-ga-gim-dùg),<sup>72</sup> é-gir<sub>5</sub>,<sup>73</sup> é-mah,<sup>74</sup> é-nab-bil,<sup>75</sup> é-zi,<sup>76</sup> é-zi-da,<sup>77</sup> é-zi-mu,<sup>78</sup> ša-gar (written gar-ša),<sup>79</sup> ki-ni-gi,<sup>80</sup> kin-nir,<sup>81</sup> lú-umma<sup>ki</sup> (written lú-GIŠ.KI.ÛḪ),<sup>82</sup> lu-mà,<sup>83</sup> lú-na-nam,<sup>84</sup> lú-ud-gid,<sup>85</sup> lú-ud-gid-šú<sup>86</sup> lú-unu<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>87</sup> lú-URU+A<sup>ki</sup>,<sup>88</sup> lú-uru-tug-sag-gub,<sup>89</sup> lugal,<sup>90</sup> lugal-bad-da (written lugal-da-bad),<sup>91</sup> lugal-gar-ni,<sup>92</sup> lugal-dug-ga-? (last sign broken),<sup>93</sup> nig-gub-gub,<sup>94</sup> nig-ud-pa-è,<sup>94a</sup> nin-íd-na,<sup>95</sup> nin-ig-gál,<sup>96</sup> nin-lú-DI (written nin-DI-lú),<sup>97</sup> nin-me-gál,<sup>98</sup>



nin-nam-mu-šub-bi,<sup>99</sup> nin-sag-tug,<sup>100</sup> nin-sag-tug-?-? (last two syllables illegible),<sup>101</sup> nin-ur-sag (written nin-sag-ur),<sup>102</sup> nin-zag-gá-ta<sup>103</sup> (written zag-nin-gá-ta), pa-lu-ti,<sup>104</sup> pa-pa-zi,<sup>105</sup> síg-ag-búlug,<sup>106</sup> sal-ur,<sup>107</sup> šubur,<sup>108</sup> ur-bád-ku,<sup>109</sup> ur-<sup>d</sup>en-líl,<sup>110</sup> ur-<sup>d</sup>IM,<sup>111</sup> ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-muk,<sup>112</sup> ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-unu,<sup>113</sup> ur-<sup>d</sup>SU.KUR.RU,<sup>114</sup> ur-nammu,<sup>115</sup> ur-sag-gír (written gír-ur-sag),<sup>116</sup> ur-šubur,<sup>116a</sup> ÚR-kaš-dùg (perhaps an occupational title),<sup>117</sup> uru-nu-šú,<sup>118</sup> za-pa-è,<sup>119</sup> zag-<sup>d</sup>SU.KUR.RU-ta.<sup>120</sup>

The following occupational titles appear in the texts: bappir (brewer),<sup>121</sup> dub-sar (scribe),<sup>122</sup> dam-qar (merchant),<sup>123</sup> È-še,<sup>124</sup> GI<sub>4</sub>.ZA (usually followed by ÚR.NI),<sup>125</sup> GŪ-šu-du<sub>8</sub> (cf. QA-šu-du<sub>8</sub>, passim in the inventory texts),<sup>126</sup> íl (porter),<sup>127</sup> kešda(da),<sup>128</sup> lú-SI,<sup>129</sup> maškim,<sup>130</sup> NI.GAB.GAB,<sup>131</sup> nu-banda,<sup>132</sup> PA,<sup>133</sup> PA-usan,<sup>134</sup> sag-tab,<sup>135</sup> sag-tu,<sup>136</sup> sahar,<sup>137</sup> síb,<sup>138</sup> sukkal,<sup>139</sup> ZA-erin.<sup>140</sup>

The only verbal form occurring in the texts is an-na-sum.<sup>141</sup>

#### TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION OF SPECIMEN-TEXTS

##### F-13 (cf. note 142)

Col. I, sp. 1.	? <sup>143</sup> maš	? lamb(s)
	2. ab	(to) Ab.
	3. 1 <sup>d</sup> en-líl	1 (to) <sup>d</sup> Enlil
	4. GI <sub>4</sub> .ZA	? (cf. note 125)
Col. II, sp. 1.	ÚR.NI	? (cf. note 125)

##### F-483

Col. I, sp. 1.	? <sup>144</sup> níg-àr-ra	(?) (of) fine flour
	2. ? kaš <sup>145</sup>	(?)
	3. ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-unu	Ur <sup>d</sup> Ninunu,
Col. II, sp. 1.	bappir	the brewer,
	2. é-ĜAR-ta <sup>145a</sup>	(?)
	3. nin-sag-tug-? <sup>146</sup>	Ninsagtug...

##### F-602

Col. I, sp. 1.	2 kù-gín	2 shekels of silver
	2. é-zi	(to) Ezi.
	3. 2 dup-pàd	2 (shekels to) Duppad.
Col. II, sp. 1.	2 ur-šubur	2 (shekels to) Urshubur.
	2. 1 lú-na-nam	1 (shekel to) Lunanam.
	3. 1 pa-pa-zi	1 (shekel to) Papazi.

Col. III, sp. 1.	1 šubur	1 (shekel to) Shubur.
	2. 1 ur- <sup>d</sup> nin-muk	1 (shekel to) Ur <sup>d</sup> Ninmuk
	3. dup-sar	the scribe.

*F-974 (Early-Sargonid, cf. note 5)*

Ob. 1.	8 <sup>147</sup> še-gur <sup>148</sup>	8 <i>gur</i> barley
	2. igi-da-lal-ni <sup>149</sup>	(to) Igidalalni
	3. 4 <i>gur</i> 72 sila LUL-NITA	4 <i>gur</i> 72 <i>qa</i> (to) the musician (male)
	4. 1 “ 72 “ é-a-ba-ni	1 “ 72 “ “ Eabani
	5. 1 “ 54 “ dumu-sir-la-lum <sup>150</sup>	1 “ 54 “ “ Dumusirlalum
	6. 5 “ ha-ba-tum <sup>151</sup>	1 “ “ Habatum
	7. 2 “ qar-ni-ni	2 “ “ Qarnini
	8. 16 “ ba-a-ba-	16 “ “ Baba
	9. 5 “ ha-li-a	5 “ “ Halia
	10. 10 “ ma-nu-a	10 “ “ Manua
Rs. šunigin <sup>152</sup> . . . .		Total . . . .

*F-973 (Ur-III, cf. note 6)*

*Obverse*

1. 89 KAL šà-bi-ta	89 men, of whom (87 accounted for) <sup>153</sup>
2. 3 gud-KU-kin $\frac{1}{2}$ iku 20 SAR	3 hired ? oxen, <sup>154</sup> 70 <i>sar</i>
3. ŠÚ.QAR ur-giš-pa	the property (?) <sup>155</sup> of Urgishpa
4. a-šà ur- <sup>d</sup> SU.KUR.RU-da <sup>156</sup>	the field of Ur <sup>d</sup> Shuruppak.
5. 3 gud-KU-kin $\frac{1}{2}$ iku	3 hired ? oxen, 50 <i>sar</i>
6. 30 KAL-KU-mà-al 8 SAR	30 hired ? men, <sup>157</sup> 8 <i>sar</i>
7. ŠÚ.QAR . . . . . kal <sup>158</sup>	. . . . .
8. a šà-túl lu-?-sar <sup>159</sup>	the field (watered by well) of Lu . . . sar
9. 1 gud-giš-ùr-KU <sup>159a</sup> 4 iku	1 hired ? plow-ox, 4 <i>iku</i>
10. 30 KAL-KU-mà-al 9 SAR	30 hired ? men, 9 <i>sar</i>
11. ŠÚ.QAR TAR.U.DA	. . . . .
12. a-šà (?) -giš <sup>159</sup>	the field of . . . . .
13. 6 gud-KU-kin $\frac{1}{2}$ iku 30 SAR	6 hired ? oxen, 80 <i>sar</i>
14. ŠÚ.QAR HÙ-(?) <sup>159</sup>	. . . . .
15. a-šà SUG . . . . . (?)	the field . . . . .
16. 1 gud-giš-ùr-KU 4 iku	1 hired ? plow-ox, 4 <i>iku</i>
17. ŠÚ.QAR ur- <sup>d</sup> SU.KUR.RU-da <sup>156</sup>	. . . . .

*Lower Edge*

a-ša da-iš-(?) -ra                      the field of . . . . .

*Reverse*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. 1 gud-KU-kin $\frac{1}{2}$ iku                     | 1 hired? ox, 50 sar                                  |
| 2. (?) -bal- (?)                                      | . . . . .  |
| 3. 8 apin-itu?-gud 1 itu? é. . . ? <sup>161</sup>     | 8 plow-oxen hired monthly, 1 month, (?)              |
| 4. 2 ba-ar-gar-? <sup>162</sup>                       | 2, Bargar. . . ?                                     |
| 5. 2 itu-?-?-? <sup>163</sup>                         | 2, Itu. . . . .?                                     |
| 6. giš-? <sup>164</sup>                               | 2, Gish. . . . ?                                     |
| 7. 3 tu-ra  | 3, Tura  |
| 8. sár-ra-ab-DU šà ?-ra <sup>159</sup>                | 2 (men) stationed . . . ? in . . . ra <sup>165</sup> |
| 9. 1 sár-ra-ab-DU šà ?-?                              | 1 (man) " " " (?)                                    |
| 10. 1 sár-ra-ab-DU zikum-? <sup>159</sup>             | 1 " " " (?)  |
| 11. 1 ki-pa-te-si                                     | 1 (man) " at the patesi's dwelling                   |
| 12. 1 en-nu-za-?-ti <sup>159</sup>                    | 1 " " (with) Ennuza . . . ti                         |
| 13. 2 šà en-?-ma                                      | 2 " " in the (?) <sup>166</sup>                      |
| 14. 1 DA.UŠ.KI-[ta] <sup>167</sup> KU 2               | 1 " " at each . . . , 2 men                          |
| 15. 1 gur <sub>7</sub> -ta KU 2                       | 1 " " at each granary, 2 men                         |
| 16. 15 sag- <sup>1d</sup> ki-sur-ra-?) <sup>168</sup> | 15 men " at the source of the canal Kisurra          |
| 17. šunigin 27 KAL zi-ga                              | Total: 27 (men) sent away (for service)              |
| 18. [lal-n]i <sup>169</sup> 2 KAL                     | Remaining (still unemployed) 2 men                   |
| 19. IGI.GAR-ag ud-25-kam                              | Account made out on the 25th day                     |

*Upper Edge*

itu[šu-numun mu <sup>d</sup>ŠU-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU of the month Shunumun; year in  
lugal] which Gimil-Sin became king.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Fara is a large, low mound between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers ca. 140 miles southeast of Bagdad. North of it (ca. 35 miles) is Nippur; northeast (ca. 15 miles) is Bismaya (ancient Adah); directly east (ca. 20 miles) Jocha (ancient Umma); to the south (ca. 35 miles) lies Warka (ancient Erech). Northwest of Fara (ca. 10 miles) is Ahu Hatah (ancient Kisurra). The identification Ahu Hatah = Kisurra was first made by Delitzsch (*MDOG* 15, p. 14, n. 1). It was based on the brick inscription

found at Abu Hatab (text and translation, *MDOG* 15, pp. 13-14, transliteration and translation, *SAK* pp. 152-3 and *RISA* pp. 150-1) which names Itur Shamash, the son of Idinilu as the patesi of Kisurra. Recently Unger has argued against this identification (cf. articles on Abu Hatab and Kisurra in *RV* and *RAs*). Andrae's statement (*FAH* p. 4): "Durch datierte Geschäftsurkunden auf Keilschrifttafeln der Hammurabizeit ist der Name Kisurra für Abu Hatab gesichert", settles the matter. Cf. also the Kisurra Canal mentioned in the Ur-III tablet excavated in this year's campaign (F-973) and n. 168). For the exact position of Fara in relation to the numerous "tells" within its immediate neighborhood, cf. Andrae's map (*MDOG* 16, opp. p. 30 and *FAH* opp. p. 5).

Fara was first visited by Loftus in 1850. The natives informed him that Phara (sic!) was a mound much visited by antique hunters; from it "signet cylinders . . . bronzes, figures carved in stone, flow like water" (*RCS* p. 104). Cf. also the first map on which Fara is located (ibid. opp. p. 436). Members of the Wolfe expedition visited Fara in 1884. Hilprecht made test excavations at Fara and Abu Hatab in 1900. Among the objects uncovered he lists: copper goatheads; a copper, pre-Sargonid sword; a lamp in the shape of a bird; a very archaic seal cylinder; a number of pre-Sargonid tablets (Barton, *SBD* 3, is probably one of these), and 60 incised plates of mother of pearl (cf. *EAB* pp. 538-40).

In response to Hilprecht's enthusiastic recommendation (ibid. p. 539, cf. *FAH* p. 1) excavations were begun at Fara, June 21, 1902, by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, under the direction of Delitzsch (who, however, soon left Fara) and Koldewey. In August, Koldewey was replaced by Andrae. The latter remained in charge until January 1903, when Koldewey returned to direct the work. He remained in charge until the close of the campaign (March 2, 1903). The Fara excavations lasted 8 months. At Abu Hatab, excavations were begun by Andrae, December 27, 1902, and were brought to an end by Koldewey after 33 days of "digging" because Abu Hatab seemed "nicht Bedeutsames an Altertümern liefern zu wollen" (*MDOG* 16, p. 12). Reports of the Fara-Abu Hatab excavations were prepared by Koldewey (*MDOG* 15, p. 21 ff.; ibid. 16, p. 15 ff.; ibid. 17, pp. 1-2). Andrae gives a detailed description of the "tells" in the immediate neighborhood of Fara (*MDOG* 16, pp. 1-30, and map opp. p. 30), also a résumé of the Fara-Abu Hatab "finds" (ibid. 17, pp. 4-35). In Heinrich's minutely detailed, beautifully printed study of the Fara material in the Berlin and Istanbul museums, Andrae contributes the preface and the introduction (*FAH* pp. 1-7). Banks, while digging in the nearby Bismaya, visited Fara (1903). He adds some interesting Arab tales concerning the Fara excavations, then but recently closed (*BB* pp. 293-6).

<sup>2</sup> Written šu-ru-pak in the first, and šu-ru-up-pak in the last, column of Syllabary 82-8-16 (*CT* XI, pl. 49, l. 33); šu-ru-up-pak, also, in the last column of the fragment Rm. 905 (*CT* XI, pl. 50; the first column is not preserved). The bilingual text (*CT* XVI, pl. 36, l. 7) writes šu-ru-up-pá-ak (= Shurubag?). In the geographic list (*KAV* 183, l. 25) the writing is šu-ri-[ip]-pak (due to a break in the text, the third syllable is doubtful). In the Gilgamesh epic, the name is written: šu-ri-ip-pak (*EG* pl. 44, l. 11):

a variant reads: *šu-ú-ri-pak* (ihid. n. 14 and 15). Ut-napishtim, however, is addressed as the *šu-ru-up-pa-ku-ú* (ibid. l. 23); a variant reads *šu-ri-ip-pa-ku-ú* (ibid. l. 27). For the probability that the name is of Elamitic origin, cf. Langdon (*CAH* p. 377) and Speiser (*MO* p. 38 ff.).

Ideographically, Shuruppak is written: SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. The ideogram is always written in the form of a ligature in the archaic Fara texts; cf. *LAK* 294. For the form of the ideogram in the Urukagina period, cf. the Bismaya texts (*IA* text 55, fragments 4 and 5; also tablet 66, ob. col. II and rs. col. IV). Cf. also the Umma text, *LC* 19, rs. col. IV (Nikolski classes it as a Sargonid text; more probably it is of the Urukagina period). For the Sargonid period, cf. the fragmentary text, *DPM* XIV, 65 (a Susa tablet). For the form of the ideogram in the Ur-III period, cf. the Haladda "Tonnagel" ("rübenformiger Cylinder", Koldewey, *MDOG* 16, p. 13) found in the western part of the "tell" (text and translation, loc. cit.; photograph, *FAH* p. 4; transliteration and translation, *SAK* pp. 150-1 and *RISA* pp. 10-11). Cf. also all the Ur-III texts listed in note 6. For the period of the Isin Dynasty, cf. *HGT* 157, col. I, l. 6; cf. also the dynastic lists in *OECT* II.

The identification Fara = Shuruppak was first established by Delitzsch (*MDOG* 16, p. 14, and "Nachträge" opp. p. 15). It was based on the Haladda "Tonnagel" (cf. above) found at Fara, which states that Haladda, son of Dada, the patesi of Shuruppak (written SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>) repaired the ADUš of the "Great Gate" of the god Shuruppak (written 𒂗SU.KUR.RU-da.). The text belongs to the Ur-III period; there is no mistaking its paleography. (Thureau-Dangin's query, "Vielleicht jünger als die Dynastie (III) von Ur?", *SAK* p. 151, n. 4, is no longer justified.) No other historical inscriptions of earlier or later date have as yet been found at Fara; the Haladda text still remains the main basis for the identification. However, so many of the proper names mentioned in the Fara tablets (cf. note 3) contain 𒂗SU.KUR.RU (= Shuruppak) as the basic element, that the Fara = Shuruppak identification is beyond question.

The doubt expressed by Andrae (*FAH* pp. 4-5 and n. 1 on p. 5) is based on the supposition that Fara was not the original provenance of the Haladda "Tonnagel" (cf. Delitzsch, *MDOG* 16, p. 14, n. 1: "Ist dieses Schriftdenkmal nicht nach Fara verschleppt worden"; and Andrae, *FAH* p. 5: "So müssen wir wohl an eine Verschleppung denken"). This supposition is, in turn, based solely on the fact that the Haladda text is of the Ur-III period, while all other inscriptional material uncovered at Fara belongs to a much earlier date (cf. note 4). Now, however, that two additional Ur-III tablets have been excavated during this year's campaign (in addition to several figurines, seal impressions, and pot forms typical of the Ur-III civilization) there is no longer any cause for doubting that Fara was the original provenance of the Haladda "Tonnagel". Furthermore, inscriptional material of the Gudea and Ur-III periods, may have been excavated at Fara before this year's campaign. 972 tablets and fragments, listed as coming from Fara and Ahu Hatah, are now to be found in the Ottoman Museum, Istanbul (the museum's share of the

1902-3 campaign). Among these are a number of Ur-III, Isin, and Hammurabi dynasties (C-21, 22, 23, 62, 63, 68, 73, 74, 75, 76, 105, 110, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 338, 342, 345, 346, 347, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 373, 374, 375, 377, 378, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660). The tablets of the Isin and Hammurabi dynasties were undoubtedly excavated at Ahu Hatab; there is no trace of a post Ur-III settlement at Fara. Those of the Ur-III dynasty, however, may have been dug up at Fara as well as at Ahu Hatab. The museum catalogue makes no distinction; it lists *all* the tablets as coming from Fara and Ahu Hatab. The museum authorities, when questioned, knew of no record from which the exact find-spot might be obtained. Note also the following statement (Deimel, *Or.* 34, p. 143): "Dann befinden sich unter den Tafeln des Berliner Museum's die aus Fara stammen sollen, auch eine Reihe jüngerer Datums die mir nach der Schrift ungefähr der Periode Gudea's zu gehören scheinen". For architectural remains which point to a late Fara habitation, cf. the house in III a-c (*FAH* pp. 12-13).

The Aratta-Shuruppak problem still remains difficult. The basic facts are as follows: (a) The ideograms SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> and LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> as written in the early texts (archaic, Urukagina, Sargonid, Ur-III) resemble each other so closely (cf. *LAK* 294 with 190; *IA* 55 and 66 with 111 and 157; the writing of SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> in the Sargonid, Ur-III periods listed above with LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> in *MA* 27993-28000) that a later copyist may have easily confused the two; for an actual case of such confusion by a scribe of the Ur-III period, cf. the two Umma texts published by Keiser, *STD* 286 and 287. (b) Syllabary 82-8-16 (*CT* XI, pl. 49, 1. 33) equates SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> with Shuruppak. For the ideogram LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> the same syllabary (1. 34) gives the value *a-rat-ta*. The Rm. fragment 905 (*CT* XI, pl. 50) adds the semitic values: *kabtum*, "glorious", and *tanadatum*, "glory"; cf. also *IA* 111 and 157, where LAM.KUR.RU is a descriptive term in connection with silver and copper). The scribe of Syllabary 82-8-16, therefore, treats Shuruppak and Aratta as two different cities. (c) The geographic list (*KAV* 183) gives the value *šu-ri-[ip]-pak* for the ideogram LAM+KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. It does not list SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. It lists, however, a LAM+HI.RU<sup>ki</sup> which it reads [A]*rattu* and which it further qualifies as *matsu-u-hi*. Unless scribal error is assumed, this Ashur copyist makes no distinction between SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> and LAM+KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. (d) The same is true for the hilingual text (*CT* XVI, pl. 36, 11. 6-7) which translates the ideogram LAM+KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> as *šu-ru-up-pá-ak* (= Shurubhag?). (e) In the Lugalbanda cycle of legends (Langdon, *OECT* I, pl. 5, col. I, ll. 13, 17; pl. 8, col. III, l. 23; pl. 9, col. IV, ll. 38-9; cf. also the duplicate, Poebel, *HGT* 8, oh. 1. 3; 9, oh. 1. 47) the writing is always: LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> (not LAM+KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>). The context is not certain in any of these texts; there is no clue to the reading of the ideogram. Langdon reads it Shuruppak; Albright (*JAOS* 45, p. 207) reads it Aratta. (f) In the Keš liturgies (*OECT* I, pl. 42, ll. 13-14; cf. also the duplicate, *SLP* pl. LXXXV, ob. 1. 20) the ideogram is written LAM.KUR.RU (without the KI, however). In the duplicates (Poebel,

*HGT* pl. VII, 12, rs. (cf. Chiera, *SRT* p. 24, 11. 3-4; Legrain, *HT* pl. III, 8, ob. 11. 3, 9) the writing is LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>; so also, *SRT* 16, 1. 1: [LAM].KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. In none of these texts is the context sufficiently clear to determine the reading. Langdon reads Shuruppak; Legrain (*HT* p. 45) reads Aratta. (g) In the Gudea Cylinder A (col. XXVII, 1. 2) and tablet *CBM* 19767 (in the Museum of the University of Pa.; transliteration and translation by Zimmern, *ZA*, 39, p. 245 ff.) the ideogram LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> follows immediately upon the mentioning of the city Keš. Here, again, the meaning is uncertain. Reading the ideogram as aratta with the Semitic equivalent *kabtum* (cf. fragment Rm. 905 above) would give the most suitable translation ("glorious Keš"). (h) Finally, the writing <sup>d</sup>SU.KUR.RU-da as the name of the god of Shuruppak (Ḫaladda "Tonnagel", cf. above; also the proper name ur-<sup>d</sup>SU.KUR.RU-da in the Ur-III tablet excavated this year) is best explained by assuming the reading Aratta or Aradda, the DA being its phonetic complement (cf. Deimel, *LAK* p. 1, note 1).

Basing himself on b) d) g) h), Hommel (*EGA* p. 353) concludes: "Es scheint übrigens mehrere LAM.KUR.RU gegeben zu haben" and "Ursprünglich waren die beide (Shuruppak and Aratta) gewiss benachbarten oder sonst in naher Beziehung zueinander stehenden Orte, wohl geschieden". Langdon (*CAH* I, p. 377) identifies Shuruppak with Aratta thus: "The god of Shuruppak was a local form of Enlil with the title Aratta, meaning the honored one, the 'god of praise' and consequently the city itself acquired the epithet Aratta". Albright (*JAOS* 45, p. 207) is certain that Shuruppak and Aratta are two distinct places far apart from each other. The scribe who wrote Syllabary 82-8-16 (cf. b) copied correctly; the scribe of the geographic list, *KAV* 183, was doubly confused, erred twice: In line 11, he mistook KUR for ḪI; in 1. 25 he wrote LAM+KUR for SU.KUR (cf. c). The difficulties involved in the bilingual text (cf. d) and the possible phonetic complement (cf. h) are not discussed. Zimmern (*ZDMG* 78, p. 21, n. 1, 3) states that: "überhaupt die Existenz eines Ortsnamen Aratta . . . mehr wie fraglich ist". In *ZA* 39, p. 252, n. 1, however, he admits (with Albright) that there is no doubt that Aratta is distinct from Shuruppak, but adds: "So ganz geklärt ist übrigens das Verhältnis von Shuruppak und Aratta nebst ihren Ideogrammen immer noch nicht". He then points to the difficulties involved in (d) and (h).

Hitherto unnoticed is the fact that an Umma scribe of the Ur-III period wrote LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> for Shuruppak (*STD* 287, 1. 4). In addition to the fact that the tablet was excavated in the near-by Umma, the provenance of the majority of the tablets in which Shuruppak is mentioned, the reading of Shuruppak for the LAM.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup> is assured by the preceding text in the same publication (*STD* 286). The same persons are involved: lugal-ša<sub>3</sub>-ga, the seller and a-kal-la, the buyer; the name of the place, however is written SU.KUR.RU<sup>ki</sup>. Streck (*AJSL* 22, p. 218 and note 34) offers a possible reason for designating Shuruppak as Aratta (= the Euphrates city; Arat is the Assyrian pronunciation for Urat, a frequently used by-name of the Euphrates). Streck's suggestion would

explain admirably the otherwise rather pointless description of Shuruppak in the Gilgamesh epic as the city situated on the bank of the Euphrates (*ša ina kisad narpu-rat-ti šak-nu*, *EG* pl. 44, 1.12). Against the Shuruppak = Aratta identification is the fact that a place LAM+KUR.RU<sup>1</sup> is mentioned in a Nebuchadnezzar tablet (*IN* 93, 1.16); there is no trace of habitation at Fara later than the neo-Sumerian (= Ur-III) civilization. For the same reason, the Aratta mentioned by Ptolemy (cf. Streck, *OLZ* 1906, p. 346d, who looks for it in southern Babylonia "ganz nahe dem Meer") cannot be identified with the ancient Shuruppak. The Shuruppak-Aratta difficulty is, as yet, by no means solved.

\* To date the following Fara texts have been published: (a) Thureau-Dangin, *RTC* 9-15. (b) Thureau-Dangin, *RA* VI, p. 143 ff. (a limestone tablet). (c) Barton, *SBD* 3 (probably one of the tablets excavated by Hilprecht). Tablet *SBD* 2, which Deimel also takes for a Fara tablet, cf. *WT* p. 4, was, however, purchased, cf. *SBD* p. 7. While its script resembles that of the Fara texts, its most probable provenance is Lagash. For importance of this tablet in dating the Fara texts, cf. note 4). (d) Deimel, *LAK* p. 73 (*VAT*. 9091 and 13600, two very archaic texts, whose provenance is not altogether certain, cf. *LAK* p. 14). (e) Deimel, *SF* (185 tablets). (f) Deimel, *WF* (135 tablets, both groups, the result of the *DOG*-campaign). (g) Allotte de la Fuyé, *DP* I, pl. I (the photograph of a tablet jar with a PISAN-DUB inscription). (h) Ibid. 33-38. (i) Speleers, *RIA* 44 and 46 (the provenance is unknown; the paleography and content, however, stamp it as a Fara "Schultexte"; cf. for content, *SF* 20, 21). (j) Förtsch, *Catalogue of Tablets from Fara and Abu Hatab* (typewritten copy in the Ottoman Museum, Istanbul) lists 972 tablets and fragments excavated by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, and now in the Istanbul museum. The authorities generously permitted me to examine the tablets during a brief stay in that city. By far the greatest number of the tablets are of the archaic Fara periods. They add little of importance to the Fara texts already published (the "Schultexte", which would be most valuable, are nearly all shattered). Forty-six tablets (cf. list, note 2.) are of the Ur-III, Isin, Hammurabi Dynasties. The tablets belonging to the latter two dynasties must certainly have been excavated at Abu Hatab. Those of the Ur-III period, however, may have come from Fara as well (cf. the Fara = Shuruppak identification discussed in note 2.). One tablet (*C*-183) is of the Sargonid period (cf. notes 4 and 5). (k) The Haladda "Tonnagel" (cf. note 2.). (l) *STH* 1.

The following copies and duplicates of the Fara "Schultexte" are to be noted: (a) Luckenbill (*IA* 196), a text very similar to *VAT* 9104, 12751 (= *SF* 8, 9). The latter begin with a list of fish-names, continue with a few names of pottery forms, and end with a list of god-names, which is written thus: Each name is listed twice; the first time *without*, the second time *with* the DINGIR-determinative. The Bismaya text lists in the first two columns a number of god-names in the same manner, only the first time *with*, the second time *without* the DINGIR-determinative. (b) Clay (*MIB* 11, perhaps also 12) is a duplicate of *VAT* 9130 (= *SF* 75) cf.



Deimel, *Or.* 2, p. 51; 4, p. 45, and *SF* p. 24. (c) The Lichatachew prism published by Sheleico (*ZA* 29, p. 78 ff.) is a copy of the same Fara text. (d) *DPM* XIV (p. 121) contains a small fragment which is a duplicate of the same text (cf. Sheleico, *ZA* 29, p. 82 ff.). (e) For a Jemdet Nasr duplicate, cf. *JRAS* 1931, p. 842.

The following publications of archaeological material have appeared in addition to the two main sources (*MDOG* 15, 16, 17, and *FAH*). (a) Copper goathhead (Hilprecht, *EAB* p. 540). (b) Seals and seal impressions (Weber, *AS* 4, 43, 58, 59, 60, 78, 88, 94, 103, 106, 107, 152, 153, 158, 181, 184, 185, 188, 217, 225, 232, 233, 235, 287, 414, 419, 428, 560, 587, 589, 592). (c) Drawings on Fara tablets (Weber *ZF.*). (d) Photograph of a basalt weight in the Ottoman Museum (*RL* IV, pl. 123 b). (e) Two fragments of vases with reliefs (*RL* VII, pl. 168 f, h). (f) Pottery forms (*RL* XIV, pl. 43 a-f; cf. however Andrae's statement that they are not listed in the "finds" record from Fara, *FAH* p. 4). (g) Photograph of a painted vase (*RL* XIV, pl. 43 h). (h) Description of weights from Fara, now in the Ottoman Museum (Unger, *KO* pp. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 14, 20, 28, 36, 37).

\* The date of the archaic Fara tablets (all the Fara texts published to date, excepting, only, the Haladda "Tonnagel" are archaic) is still a matter of dispute. They have been dated as late as the Dynasty of Akkad (Christian) and as early as the period preceding Ur-Nina of Lagash. The debate has now lasted more than a decade. Here and there, matters have become confused. Before a new attempt is made to establish their relative dating, a clear statement of all previous attempts and their underlying reasons is essential. Thureau-Dangin (*RTC* p. II and n. 1) dates the 7 Fara texts which he published (cf. note 3, above) before Ur-Nina of Lagash. Reasons: (a) The curvilinear form of the signs for LÚ and LUGAL. (b) The sign for A is composed of 4 wedges. (c) The sign for BI is still pictographic. Deimel (*LAK* pp. 4-5) confirms Thureau-Dangin's conclusions and adds the following reasons for the early dating: (a) Numerous Fara signs in addition to the BI are pictographic. (b) The splitting in two of the horizontal wedges in the signs for MU, BAL, NUMUN, etc. appears only at a very early date; never later than Eannatum of Lagash. (c) The Fara form for the sign ZI (*LAK* 468) occurs in no texts later than the Stele of the Vultures (cf. however, the Bismaya texts recently published, *IA* 6611, 691, 7311, 7411; none earlier than the Urukagina texts). (d) The order of the signs within each space is not according to the sense; the scribe writes as the convenience of the moment dictates.

Unger (*ZA* 34, p. 198 ff.) concludes that the Fara tablets are "vielleicht etwas älter als die Tontafeln der Zeit des Urukagina" (loc. cit. p. 205). Reasons: (a) Ur-Nina's inscriptions are "roh" und "unbeholfen"; the Fara tablets, on the other hand, are "elegant" and "flüssig". (b) In Ur-Nina's times, contracts were written only in the royal palace; the Fara contracts are among private individuals. (c) The signs which Deimel takes to be pictographic are due to the "Lust für Spielerei" which

the Fara scribe possessed to an extraordinary degree. All of Unger's arguments are weakened by a subjective trend (cf. Landsberger, *OLZ* 34, p. 123: "Gerade alle Gründe die Unger veranlassten, diese Tafeln für jünger als Urukagina zu halten sprechen für ihr Alter, wie das eingehend von Deimel, dargestellt wurde").

Deimel (*Or.* 6, p. 51 ff.) replies to Unger's objections: (a) He lists in detail some 35 curvilinear signs that appear in the Fara texts. (b) Lists a large number of Fara signs for pot and fish-names, which are still pictographic in form. (c) Lists more than 40 Fara signs, which, while neither curvilinear nor pictographic, nevertheless, show a less developed, a more archaic form than the corresponding Urukagina signs. (d) The "roh" and "unbeholfen" script of many of the Ur-Nina and Eannatum inscriptions is due to their content. In royal inscriptions, the tendency is always to archaize, cf. the archaic appearance of historical inscriptions of Lugalzaggisi with tablet texts of Urukagina, his contemporary. In *WF* (p. 2) Deimel adds the following historical reason for the pre-Ur-Nina dating: *SBD* 2, because of its script, belongs "zu der Sammlung der Fara-texte" (cf. however note 3 above; the most probable provenance is Lagash). This tablet repeatedly mentions a king of Lagash named Enḫegal. All the rulers between Ur-Nina and Urukagina are known from contemporary sources: Enḫegal is not among them. This Fara tablet, therefore, must be dated before Ur-Nina; so also *all* the Fara texts, because their script is as archaic. In the same volume (*WF* pp. 4-5 and p. 10) Deimel adds two reasons of very doubtful value: (a) The use of copper for payment in Fara; in the Urukagina texts, silver is the medium of exchange. (b) For plowing, the ass was usually used in Fara; in Urukagina's times, the ox served the same purpose in Lagash. Much more to the point are his two final comparisons (*WF* p. 2-3): (a) The shape of the Fara tablets (cf. below) point to a more archaic period than the Urukagina texts. (b) The Fara texts lack the date-formula so markedly characteristic of the Urukagina and later periods. (For meaning of the BAL-formula in the Fara "Kaufurkunden", *RTC* 12, 13, 14, 15; *SBD* 3, *VAT* 12437, 12443, 12523, 12557, 12746; *C*-84 (unpublished), cf. Deimel, *LAK* p. 1).

Andrae (*AIT* p. 6), basing his conclusions on archaeological finds other than inscriptional material, was the first to suggest that the tablet stratum in Fara (following *FAH* p. 6, it will be designated by the letter Z; it is about two meters thick and lies above a prehistoric, inscription-less, painted pottery layer, which in accord with *FAH* p. 6, will be designated by the letter H) should be further subdivided, because its characteristics "etwa denen der H und G-schichten (of Ashur) entsprechen".

Christian (*MAG* IV, pp. 9-12) concludes that the date of the Fara tablets is "etwa zur Zeit Urukagina, also der unmittelbar vor- oder früh-sargonischen Periode" (ibid. p. 12). Reasons: (a) All the Fara tablets show such uniformity of script that according to Deimel (*LAK* p. 4) no subdivisions within the texts can be justified by paleographic evidence. (b) All other "finds" in stratum Z (cf. above): building materials,

burials, pottery forms, seals and seal impressions, point to the Lugalanda-Urukagina-early-Sargonid period (analogous to stratum G, but not H, of Ashur). Since the tablets were also found in stratum Z, they are of the same period.

Deimel (*Or.* 34, pp. 122-27) questions Christian's archaeological conclusions, but is not very specific. He adds: "Wenigstens sagte mir Andrae dass meine Datierung der Fara-tafeln mit seiner Ansicht, die er sich über das Alter der Schicht gebildet habe, übereinstimme". For the first time (and in contradiction to his statement in *LAK* p. 4, cf. above) he makes this important observation: Paleographically, a division within the Fara texts is justifiable; that the "Kaufurkunden" (cf. above) are younger. He thus removes the basis for Christian's conclusion, that the entire Z-stratum, two meters thick, represents the remains of one brief period in Sumerian history (Lugalanda-Urukagina-early-Sargonid).

Because the shape of tablets is occasionally used as a dating criterion, a clear statement of the various shapes of the Fara tablets is essential, in order to avoid any possible confusion. For such confusion, cf. Langdon (*OECT* VII, pp. IV-V: "It is inexplicable that the clay tablets of Fara do not distinguish the two sides as does the stone tablet AO 2753 (*RA* VI, p. 143 ff.), unless the stone tablet represents a late evolution." Cf. also Langdon (loc. cit.): "The Fara tablets do not differentiate by convexity the reverse from the obverse, but like the primitive type, they are equally convex on both sides. Cf. also Deimel (*WF* p. 2): "Diese (die rechteckigen mehr breite als lange) haben zum Teil recht grosse Dimensionen, die Vorderseite ist vollkommen flach, die Rückseite stark gewölbt." In *KP* (p. 6), however, he describes the same tablets as having "die Vorderseite flach, die Rückseite etwas gewölbt".

The shapes of the Fara tablets are as follows: (a) Large (dimensions usually varying from 12 to 20 cm., the largest is 32 x 36 cm.), rectangular, broader than longer, obverse, flat, reverse convex (cf. Koldewey, *MDOG* 16, p. 13). This shape is more typical of the "Schultexte". Among the smaller ones of this group, however, there are also inventory records, and lists of names and occupations. No tablets of this size and shape have been found this year. Cf. note 13. (b) Medium and small tablets (varying from 4-12 cm.), square and round-cornered like the Urukagina tablets, with this difference: Of the Urukagina tablets, the obverse is flat, the reverse is convex; of the Fara tablets, both sides are equally convex. A few such tablets have been excavated this year (F-510, the largest = 7 x 7 x 2.4 cm.; also F-511, 600, 602, 698). (c) Very small tablets (4 cm. and less) excavated during this year's campaign, square and round-cornered (because of the small size, therefore, circular in appearance), the obverse convex, the reverse almost flat (cf. the photographs of the Urukagina tablets, *DP* -25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, = *DP* I, pl. XI). (d) Now and then an unusual shape (Cf. *VAT* 12752 = *WF* 59; cf. also F-509).

In attempting to date by palaeography, the danger of erring is twofold: (a) Scribal idiosyncrasies; no such uniformity is to be expected as is found in the script of the Urukagina tablets; (b) the lack of a sufficiently

large and varied quantity of inscriptional material to justify generalizations. (Cf. the Fara form for the Z-sign = *LAK* 468, which Deimel, *ibid.* pp. 4-5, uses as a criterion for the early dating, because it never occurs later than the Stele of the Vultures. It has now turned up in the Bismaya tablets published by Luckenbill, *IA* 63 II, 69 I, 73 II, 74 II, which are contemporary with the Urukagina texts. Cf. also the Umma(?) text published by Speleers, *RIA* 42). Bearing these dangers in mind, the following is a tentative statement of the relative dating of the archaic Fara texts, according to palaeography, shape and exact find-spot (this last is available only for this year's campaign; for the *DOG*-excavations, cf. Andrae, *FAH* p. 1.): (a) The two tablets, *VAT* 9091, 13600, are of the last, most advanced stage of the Jemdet Nasr culture. (b) The larger tablets (described above, heading a) are of the pre-Ur-Nina period. They show most regularly the archaic characteristics listed in detail by Deimel (cf. above): curvilinear, pictographic, primitive sign-forms. (c) The "Kaufurkunden and other "Wirtschaftstexte" (inventory records, lists of names and occupations); rarely a "Schultext" (for size and shape, cf. above, heading b), are of the Ur-Nina-Eannatum period. They show less regularly the primitive characteristics. (d) The small tablets (cf. above under heading c) belong to the Lugalanda-Urukagina culture. They were found at a depth varying from 25 to 50 cm. below the surface of the mound, and in a drain pipe built by the people who were the last to settle in that part of the city (no traces of an Ur-III settlement were found on this spot).

Again this must be stressed: The relative dating (the latest possible absolute date for Ur-Nina is 2620 B.C.; cf. Christian and Weidner, *AOF* V, p. 141) attempted above is tentative. As long as the tablets themselves bear no date, confirmation is needed from a minutely detailed study of the non-inscriptional "finds", to establish the subdivisions of the archaic Fara civilization. The Fara dating, too, is of utmost importance in helping to establish the approximate time of the Jemdet Nasr culture. Christian and Weidner (*AOF* V, p. 148) date the latter in the early Sargonic period. One of the main reasons for this conclusion is given thus: The Fara "finds" are of the "ungefähr vor- und frühsargonische Periode" (dating based on Christian's conclusions, cf. above); among these "finds" is painted ware of the Jemdet Nasr type; the Fara and the Jemdet Nasr cultures, therefore, are of the same period (the early Sargonic). In order to explain the difficulty involved in the palaeography (the Jemdet Nasr and Fara texts are archaic, even pictographic; the Sargonic texts are in fully-developed, formalized, cuneiform) the following unusual assumption is necessary: "Die stark bildhafte protoelamische Schrift(hat) archaisierend auf die schon ziemlich entwickelte Keilschrift eingewirkt" (*ibid.* p. 149).

It is not, however, with *Fara-Z* (the tablet stratum) that the Jemdet Nasr should be compared; they have little in common. The shape of the Fara tablets are altogether different; in no way do they resemble that of the Jemdet Nasr tablets (Cf. Langdon, *OECT* VII, P. for the latter; for

the former cf. shape-forms listed above). In script, only VAT 9091 and 13600 (Fara provenance uncertain) can be compared with the tablets found at Jemdet Nasr. In the remaining texts, in the *oldest* "Schul-texte", the script is incomparably more advanced and better developed than in the latter. Moreover, the exact "depth" find-spot of the painted ware is uncertain. In this year's campaign, painted pottery was found only *below* stratum-Z. It is most probable that the painted ware uncovered in the DOG-excavations came from the first deep test trenches; one of these reached "zum Teil bis zu einer Tiefe von 7-8 Metern" (Koldewey, *MDOG* 15, p. 12; cf. trench I and II on the plan, *MDOG* 17, opp. p. 44, and *FAH* pl. 1). If the provenance of the two semi-pictographic tablets (VAT 9091 and 13600) is actually Fara; these, too, were found below the Z-stratum. It is *Fara-H* which compares with the Jemdet Nasr civilization. The peak of Fara's development was reached after Jemdet Nasr had become a ruin.

\* F-974. This tablet and C-183 (unpublished) are, as yet, the only two Sargonid texts, excavated at Fara. The shape of F-974 is rectangular, longer than wide (85 x 50 x 31 cm.). It is not divided into columns; sharply drawn horizontal lines form the space divisions; the writing is clear and sure. The difference in script (compared with the earlier Fara texts) is immediately noticeable. Specifically, the signs for  $\mathfrak{D}$  (= *MA* 19954, a Gudea text; for archaic Fara, cf. *LAK* 732), TUM (= *MA* 15318, ff., Sargonid texts; for archaic Fara, cf. *LAK* 494), ŠE (= *MA* 24376, a Sargonid text, cf. *LAK* 199; for the archaic Fara form) and finally QAR (= *MA* 21355; for archaic Fara, cf. *LAK* 160), all point to the Sargonid period; so also its shape and absence of column divisions. It shows, however, this peculiarity; The obverse is flat, the reverse is strongly convex; in this it differs from the standard Sargonid tablets. Because of this difference, *early* Sargonid may be the more exact dating. C-183 (in the Ottoman Museum) is also rectangular, longer than wide (5 x 3 cm.); has no column divisions; lines sharply drawn across the tablet, mark the space divisions (I failed to note its convexity). The sign forms which characterize it as Sargonid are: SAR (= *MA* 12432, cf. with *LAK* 215), MU (= *MA* 3938, cf. with *LAK* 14 and finally TU (= *MA* 34248, cf. with *LAK* 786 and 666).

\* F-973 (dated in the first year of Gimil-Sin) and the fragment F-750. Shuruppak was a settlement of some size during the reign of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Keiser (*PUD* pp. 24-5) lists 24 Ur-III tablets which mention a patesi of Shuruppak either by name or title (one of these, *LTD* 26, l. 17, writes the ideogram SU-KUR-RA(!)-(KI)). Shuruppak is also mentioned in the following Ur-III tablets: Keiser (*STD* 286, 287; cf. above, n. 2); de Genouillac (*TEU* 6041, col. II, sp. 16, and col. III, sp. 1); Schneider (*GDJ* = *Or.* 47-49, 124, l. 6); Deimel (Wengler 21 = *Or.* 5, 18). The relative size of Shuruppak during the reign of Bur-Sin can be judged from the Umma text published by de Genouillac (*TEU* 6041). It is a list of 21,799 harvest-workers levied from the various cities of Sumer and Akkad in the 2d. year of that monarch's reign. Of this num-

ber, Umma supplied 2600 workers; Shuruppak, 1200; Babylon, 600. Two patesis of Shuruppak in addition to Ur-(dingir)Ninkurra and Azag-(dingir)Nannar, listed by Keiser (loc. cit.) are now known: A-ĪU-A, in the first year of Bur-Sin (*SLU* 131, l. 7) and PA-GU-Ú. in the second year of Bur-Sin (*TEU* 6041, col. II). Cf. n. 2. for additional Ur-III material.

This, then, is the outline of Fara's history: Originally settled by the same "painted pottery" people that inhabited Jemdet Nasr to the north (= Elamites?), it was later conquered by the Sumerians. About the time of Ur-Nina of Lagash, Fara was at its peak. It gradually lost its importance, was weakest during the reign of the Dynasty of Akkad, experienced a brief revival in the neo-Sumerian period under the Third Dynasty of Ur, was destroyed during the struggles that led to the extinction of that dynasty, was never reinhabited.

<sup>7</sup> 25 are in good condition, 20 are only fair, the remaining are fragmentary and illegible.

<sup>8</sup> F-510, reddish in color, may have been slightly baked or accidentally fired.

<sup>9</sup> Varies from a light greyish to a very dark brown.

<sup>10</sup> 25 were found inside or just outside of a drain pipe which led up to the surface of the mound; for dating, cf. note 4.

<sup>11</sup> The so-called "Fara Rundkeller" (*FAH* p. 6). The fact that Sargonic and Ur-III tablets were found in these cists does not necessarily indicate that the cists were built in those periods; they may have been *used* by the people of the later civilization, who had settled on the mound, and found them already built. Because they cannot be related to other architectural remains on the "tell" they cannot, as yet, be definitely dated. Cf. *FAH* pp. 6, 17.

<sup>12</sup> In conjunction with terra-cotta figurines, seal impressions and pot forms of the Ur-III culture. For dating of the cist, however, cf. the preceding note.

<sup>13</sup> F-512. The obverse is flat, the reverse is in such poor condition, that it is impossible to reconstruct its original form. It is a fragment of the only "Schultext" uncovered during the campaign.

<sup>14</sup> For dating, cf. note 5.

<sup>15</sup> The original shape of the tablets of which only fragments have been preserved, is not always certain.

<sup>16</sup> F-509, the shape is oval, almost elliptical.

<sup>17</sup> The shape of the original tablet of which only the fragment F-750 is preserved, was probably very similar to F-973.

<sup>18</sup> F-123, 382, 384, 388, 483, 486, 488, 490, 506, 509, 513, 600, 601, 975.

<sup>19</sup> F-384, 480, 510, 513, 600, 602, 697, 975.

<sup>20</sup> F-509, 603, 967.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. F-483, 513.

<sup>22</sup> F-511, 601, 698.

<sup>23</sup> F-512, a fragment, found at a depth of 1.20 m. The phrases still remaining are incomplete, they all end with the signs: NU (curvilinear, cf. *LAK* 36) -TUG (*MA* 33742; cf. *LAK* 474, where it is read QAB (also TUG?).

<sup>24</sup> F-376, 378, 482, 485, 486, 488, 507.

<sup>25</sup> F-600. Reading and meaning unknown; appears here for the first time in cuneiform literature. Cf. with the following term še-kud-NI.GA and n. 27.

<sup>26</sup> F-400. Cf. the following note.

<sup>27</sup> Probably also F-381, where only NI.GA is preserved. Deimel (*Or.* 7, p. 29 ff. and *SL* p. 471) proposes that NI should be read dig; that GA is its phonetic complement; that šeNI is another way of writing gišNI with the meaning "sesame"; še-NI.GA, therefore, also is to be translated "sesame". That the GA is not to be treated as a phonetic complement, however, is shown by the forms šeziz-ga (cf. n. 30a), ziz-ga, ga-ziz-a, ga-še-a (cf. Hrozny, "Getreide", pp. 119 and 135). That the še in še-NI.GA is not to be treated as a determinative is shown by the form ziz-NI.GA (F-481). More probably all the terms ending with NI.GA (še-NI.GA še-kud-NI.GA, ziz-NI.GA, zi-NI.GA, zi-še-NI.GA, zi-ziz-NI.GA, nig-ār-ra-NI.GA describe a form of pastry prepared by adding butter (NI.GA) to the (crushed?) seeds of the various grains (še, se-kud, ziz) or to flour (zi, zi-še, zi-ziz, nig-ār-ra). For NI.GA = GA.NI with the Sumerian reading gar(a) and the Semitic equivalent *lildu*, cf. Landsberger, *OLZ* 1931, p. 132, where the complete literature on the subject is cited.

<sup>28</sup> F-600. Cf. also kaš-AŠ.BA.AN (F-490). Both forms appear here for the first time.

<sup>29</sup> F-481. Cf. n. 27.

<sup>30a</sup> F-391. Written ziz-ga-še. The meaning is probably the same as that of ziz-ga, "Milchbrei" (Hrozny, loc. cit. p. 135).

<sup>30b</sup> F-490; also 508, where NI.GA is partly broken. For meaning, cf. n. 27.

<sup>31</sup> F-373.

<sup>32</sup> F-506, GA is uncertain; text is poorly preserved. In F-388, the word-order is še-zi-NI.GA.

<sup>33</sup> F-375. In Babylonia, therefore, from the earliest days of its history, "Emmer" (ziz) was ground into ordinary flour (zi), not alone into fine flour (nig-ār-ra). Cf. however, Hrozny, "Getreide" p. 99, and note 2; p. 101, note 3; also Landsberger, *OLZ* 1922, p. 342, where Hrozny's corrections seems not to have been noted.

<sup>34</sup> F-386. Cf. note 27.

<sup>35</sup> GAR-ĪAR-RA is to be read nig-ār-ra; its Semitic equivalent is *samīdu*, "fine flour"; cf. Landsberger, *OLZ* 1922, p. 342 ff. Hrozny's transliteration (gar-mur-ra) and translation ("Aschenbrot") as well as Deimel's translation ("fodder") are shown to be untenable (ibid. p. 341).

<sup>36</sup> F-379. KAŠ+A corresponds to the classical Assyrian sign DUG (*SL* 2, 2, p. 450). Its Sumerian reading, therefore, is ku-ru-um or ku-ru-un; the Semitic equivalents are *karanu* and *kurunnu* (ibid. p. 533); the translation of *kurunnu* according to Poebel (*SU* IV, p. 33 ff.) is not "Dattelschnaps", as is usually assumed; it is more probably "Traubenwein"; nig-ār-ra-kurun is, therefore, a pastry formed by mixing wine with fine flour; cf. nig-ār-ra-NI.GA (notes 27 and 37), which is a pastry formed by adding butter to fine flour.

<sup>37</sup> F-500. For meaning, cf. notes 27, 35 and 36.

<sup>38</sup> F-379. GUG is translated by Deimel as "Johannqshrot" (*Or.* 7, p. 28); the reasons there stated are not convincing.

<sup>39</sup> F-511. Hrozny translates as "Hülsenfrüchte" (*loc. cit.* p. 197).

<sup>40</sup> F-377, 382, 383, 384, 387, 389, 489, 490, 491, 501, 509. The exact meaning of *kaš* is not certain. As a general term for strong drink, its Akkadian equivalent is *šikāru*. Poebel's interpretation of the Gudea text (*Cyl. B.* 6, 24-7, 11; cf. *SU* IV, p. 32 ff.) justifies the assumption that *kaš* was originally a "Dattelwein" and therefore to be so translated when unmodified by any qualifying phrases.

<sup>41</sup> F-379, 509. For meaning, cf. note 36.

<sup>42</sup> F-484; the last two signs poorly preserved. The terms *kaš-nig-ār-ra*, *kaš-še-kinkud*, *kaš-AŠ.BA.AN* appear here for the first time in cuneiform literature; for *kaš-nig-ār-ra*, cf. *nig-ār-ra-KAŠ+A* (note 36).

<sup>43</sup> F-383; cf. preceding note.

<sup>44</sup> The word-order is *kaš-AŠ.AN.BA*; cf. notes 28 and 42.

<sup>45</sup> F-513. <sup>46</sup> F-513. <sup>47</sup> F-602. <sup>48</sup> F-513.

<sup>49</sup> F-698. The sign A is written with four wedges.

<sup>50</sup> F-698; found also in the Urukagina texts; cf. *Or.* 16, p. 78.

<sup>51</sup> F-698. <sup>52</sup> F-698. <sup>53</sup> F-513.

<sup>54</sup> F-13, 15, 17, 25, 26, 28, 41, 99, 285, 963.

<sup>55</sup> F-970; also F-27; text poorly preserved.

<sup>56</sup> F-969.

<sup>57</sup> F-964; mentioned frequently in the Urukagina texts; cf. *Or.* 21, p. 76. The *SUŠ* is sometimes written inside the *NU*. This is nearly always the case with the Fara texts in the Ottoman Museum; cf. C-369, 415, 623, 969, etc. F-964, however, writes the *SUŠ* outside the *NU*. Deimel's surmise that the *SAG* is not part of the ideogram is substantiated by the Fara texts listed above, where *ŠUŠ+NU.SI* is not followed by *SAG*.

<sup>58</sup> F-380; found also in the Urukagina texts; cf. *Or.* 21, p. 65.

<sup>59</sup> F-969.

<sup>60</sup> F-13, 25, 26, 28, 41, 501, 693.

<sup>61</sup> F-490. Text in poor condition; the *KI* is not certain.

<sup>62</sup> F-13, 25, 26, 28, 963.

<sup>63</sup> F-378, 382, 384, 387, 487.

<sup>64</sup> F-400. The *DA* is not certain. For the possible reading of this name as *lu-daradda* (*da*), cf. note 156.

<sup>65</sup> F-511.

<sup>66</sup> F-510. The word-order is *ḫar-tu-dSU.KUR.RU*.

<sup>67</sup> F-90. <sup>68</sup> F-99. <sup>69</sup> F-511. <sup>70</sup> F-602.

<sup>71</sup> F-28. <sup>72</sup> F-382. <sup>73</sup> F-386, 500. <sup>74</sup> F-389.

<sup>75</sup> F-490. <sup>76</sup> F-602. <sup>77</sup> F-698, 730. <sup>78</sup> F-375.

<sup>79</sup> F-481; the *ŠA* is not certain; poorly preserved.

<sup>80</sup> F-511. <sup>81</sup> F-90. <sup>82</sup> F-600. <sup>83</sup> F-41.

<sup>84</sup> F-602. <sup>85</sup> F-388. <sup>86</sup> F-376. <sup>87</sup> F-600.

<sup>88</sup> F-600. <sup>89</sup> F-600. <sup>90</sup> F-482.

<sup>91</sup> F-16; not certain; text in poor condition.

<sup>92</sup> F-359. <sup>93</sup> F-515. <sup>94</sup> F-488.

<sup>95</sup> F-730. <sup>96</sup> F-379, 505. <sup>97</sup> F-382.



<sup>97</sup> F-485; the DI is not certain; poorly preserved.

<sup>98</sup> F-503. <sup>99</sup> F-480. <sup>100</sup> F-505. <sup>101</sup> F-483.

<sup>102</sup> F-379. <sup>103</sup> F-382, 509. <sup>104</sup> F-380. <sup>105</sup> F-602.

<sup>106</sup> F-511. <sup>107</sup> F-384. <sup>108</sup> F-602. <sup>109</sup> F-359.

<sup>110</sup> F-481. <sup>111</sup> F-600. <sup>112</sup> F-602. <sup>113</sup> F-482, 483.

<sup>114</sup> F-16; SU.KUR.RU not certain; text in poor condition.

<sup>115</sup> F-506; written nammu-ur.

<sup>116</sup> F-359. <sup>116a</sup> F-602.

<sup>117</sup> F-385. As an occupation-title, it would mean the ÚR of good beer; cf. also the ÚR.NI mentioned frequently in these texts; perhaps to be read ÚR-ia, an official in connection with oils.

<sup>118</sup> F-379. <sup>119</sup> F-698. <sup>120</sup> F-506.

<sup>121</sup> F-387, 483. <sup>122</sup> F-41, 89, 488, 602. <sup>123</sup> F-698.

<sup>124</sup> F-488. Found only in the Fara texts; meaning and reading unknown; for Deimel's suggestion, cf. *WF* p. 6.

<sup>125</sup> F-13, 14, 17, 25, 26, 28, 41, 99, 963. In these texts, all found inside or just outside a drain pipe leading up to the surface of the mound (cf. translation and transliteration of F-13) the ÚR.NI follows immediately upon the GI<sub>4</sub>.ZA. In F-27, they are separated by intervening inscribed spaces (text broken). In F-89, GI<sub>4</sub>.ZA alone is mentioned. ÚR.NI is found alone in F-285, 382, 384, 503, 968. For meaning of ÚR.NI, cf. note 117). GI<sub>4</sub>.ZA may be read GI<sub>4</sub>.A (the A-sign is frequently written with four wedges in the Fara texts); the meaning may be "messenger", cf. *SL* 2, p. 579, 39) and p. 577, 6).

<sup>126</sup> F-511. The substance distributed is šamGÚ.

<sup>127</sup> F-99; followed in the next space by dug-ga-ni; usually the occupation follows the personal name.

<sup>128</sup> F-484. Cf. the é-kešda (da), *SL* 2, 2, p. 370, I, 8). The sign LAK 610, therefore, also has the reading kešda and *LC* 13 rs. 6 is not an error.

<sup>129</sup> F-380. The lú-SI is frequently mentioned in the Urukagina "fish"-texts; cf. also the SI in the "fish"-name ŠUS.NU.SI (n. 57); the lú-SI, therefore, was an official in connection with fish and fish-products. For Deimel's suggestion, cf. *WF* p. 6.

<sup>130</sup> F-507; written PA.DU+KAS. For reading and meaning, cf. *SL* 2, 2 p. 505, n. 205, d and e.

<sup>131</sup> F-375. Probably same as NI.GAB with the Semitic equivalent *atû*, "gatekeeper".

<sup>132</sup> F-481. For meaning in early texts, cf. *SL* 2, 1, p. 170.

<sup>133</sup> F-488; Sumerian ugula and akil; its Semitic equivalent is *aklu* (from the Sumerian); its meaning "officer in charge"; cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 495.

<sup>134</sup> F-513, 697. Cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 496, 9); perhaps to be read PA-sub, with the Semitic equivalent *rēmu*; cf. *SL* 2, 1, p. 280 ff.

<sup>135</sup> F-385, 386; written tab-sag; cf. sag-apin, sag-šu, in the Urukagina texts; cf. also the gán-tab-ba mentioned frequently in the same texts. In F-513 7-tab (first sign broken) is listed among trees and wooden objects.

<sup>136</sup> F-513; perhaps an official in charge of weights; cf. *SL* 2, 1, p. 309 ff.

<sup>137</sup> F-511; cf. the saḥar-ra-ni in the Urukagina texts. Meaning uncertain; cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 443, 7).

<sup>138</sup> F-967.

<sup>139</sup> F-380; cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 559, 4) and 6).

<sup>140</sup> F-966; perhaps to be read A-erin "an army official".

<sup>141</sup> F-27, 285, 968; perfectly preserved only in the last.

<sup>142</sup> F-15, 17, 25, 26, 27, 28, 41, 99, 285, 963, 964, are duplicates of F-13 (with minor changes of quantity or name). All have a convex obverse and an almost flat reverse; all were found inside or near the drain pipe leading to the surface of the mound. They are all of the Lugaland-Urukagina period (cf. note 4); no traces of a younger civilization were found at that particular part of the mound.

<sup>143</sup> Numeral illegible.

<sup>144</sup> Numeral illegible. For reading and meaning, cf. note 35.

<sup>145</sup> Only the *kaš* is preserved.

<sup>145a</sup> Probably é-*ĦAR* is for the customary é-*ĦAR-ĦAR*; the Semitic equivalent is probably bit-arari; cf. Landsberger, *OLZ* 1922, p. 39 and notes 10 and 12.

<sup>146</sup> Last sign (written on reverse) illegible. The lower edge and upper part of the reverse were used by the scribe to complete the name he had started in the lower right corner of the obverse. He continued his vertical line on the reverse only as far as was necessary; it does not run the entire length of the reverse.

<sup>147</sup> Part of the *šE* is broken.

<sup>148</sup> The *GUR* may or may not have been on the tablet. The *ga*-figures are based on the assumption that the *gur-sag-gál*, the common measure in the Urukagina and Sargonid periods is here intended: ll. 3-4, four vertical wedges = 72 *ga*; l. 5, three wedges = 54 *ga*.

<sup>149</sup> The *IGI* is not certain.

<sup>150</sup> The *SIR* is partly broken.

<sup>151</sup> *Ħabatum* may be Semitic; a further proof that this is a Sargonid tablet.

<sup>152</sup> Numeral broken after the first "30".

<sup>153</sup> The 89 is written 90-1. The following is the probable interpretation of the tablet: The first line states that 89 men were available for employment. Line 6 of the obverse accounts for 30 of the 89. Despite the break in the text, the reading of line 10 of the obverse can be reconstructed as follows: KAL-KU-mà-al 9 (written 10-1) SAR; i. e. the men were hired for 9 *sar* (in line 6, the men were hired for 8 *sar*). The numeral stating the number of men, however, is broken. That this numeral was 30 (the same as in line 6) can be deduced from the following: Line 17 of the reverse reads: *šunigin* 27 KAL *zi-ga*; i. e. a total of 27 men were sent away (for various forms of service). This total can only be the sum of the number of KAL stationed at various places and listed in ll. 8-16 of the reverse; these total up to 27 (cf. note 165). The line following the total reads: [l<sub>al</sub>-n]i 2 KAL; e. g. there still remained 2 men of the original 89. But only 57 men are accounted for, not adding those listed in line 10. The broken numeral, therefore, in line 10, must have read "30".

<sup>154</sup> KU = *agaru*; *kin* is either the term for work in general or describes a particular kind of work assigned to the oxen; cf. the *kin* in the occupation-title *giš-kin-ti*, the *kin* in *še-kin-kud* and *še-kin-kin*.

<sup>155</sup> For ŠU.QAR, cf. the Bismaya text, *IA* 164; for meaning in later cuneiform literature, cf. Meissner, *SAI* 8082.

<sup>156</sup> If the da is here a phonetic complement, the name is to be read aradda(da); cf. the Aratta-Shuruppak problem discussed in note 2.

<sup>157</sup> The phrase mà-al describes, perhaps, the type of service to be rendered by the KAL.

<sup>158</sup> One or more signs broken.

<sup>159</sup> Sign broken.

<sup>159a</sup> For meaning of gud-giš-ūr, cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 517, 58) and 62).

<sup>160</sup> Only the sign BAL is certain; the signs before and after are illegible.

<sup>161</sup> Probably only one sign follows the 𒀭; the sign ITU is not certain.

<sup>162</sup> Last sign broken.

<sup>163</sup> All three signs illegible; poorly preserved.

<sup>164</sup> Last sign broken.

<sup>165</sup> The term sár-ra-ab-DU describes the service of the KAL. Lines 8-16 enumerate the KAL employed in this service and those stationed in various places; their total (27) is stated in line 17.

<sup>166</sup> Perhaps a storehouse; cf. the gur in line 15.

<sup>167</sup> The sign TA reconstructed from the succeeding line; the meaning seems to be: 1 man stationed at each DA.UŠ.KI = 2 hired men. Cf. the succeeding line: 1 man stationed at each granary = 2 hired men. For term DA.UŠ (without KI), with the meaning "shepherd's boy", cf. *SL* 2, 2, p. 608, 72).

<sup>168</sup> Last sign broken. The canal has the same name as the nearby city Kisurra (the modern Abu Hatab; cf. note 1).

<sup>169</sup> The sign LAL and the beginning of the sign NI are broken.

<sup>170</sup> This date formula, the first on any tablet excavated at Fara (for the BAL-formula in the early Fara texts, cf. Deimel, *LAK* p. 1) is not certain; the signs are poorly preserved; the reconstruction given, however, is very probable.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

*AIT*: Andrae, *Die Archaischen Ishtar Tempel* (1922) = *WDOG* 39.

*AJSL*: *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.

*AOF*: *Archiv für Orientforschung*.

*AS*: Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder* = *Der Alte Orient* (1920).

*BB*: Banks, *Bismaya* (1912).

*C*: *Catalogue of Tablets from Fara and Abu Hatab in the Ottoman Museum* (Istanbul, 1918). Typewritten copy.

*CAH*: *Cambridge Ancient History*.

*CT*: *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*.

*DOG*: *Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*.

*DP*: Allote de la Fuÿe, *Documents Présargoniques*.

*DPM*: *Délégation en Perse*.

*EAB*: Hilprecht, *Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* (1904).

*EG*: Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamesh* (1930).

*EGA*: Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* (1926).

*FAH*: Heinrich, *Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Fara und Abu Hatab* (1931).

- GDJ: Schneider, *Die Geschäftsurkunden aus Drehem und Jokha* (1930).  
 HGT: Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (1914) = *UMBS* V.  
 HT: Legrain, *Historical Texts* (1922) = *UMBS* XIII.  
 IA: Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (1930).  
 IN: Strassmeier, *Inchriften von Nebuchodnosor* (1889).  
 JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.  
 JRAS: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.  
 KAV: Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (1920).  
 KO: Unger, *Katalog der Babylonischen und Assyrischen Sammlung, Kaiserlich Osmanische Museen, III. Geräte*.  
 KP: Deimel, *Die Keilschrift-Paläographie* (1929).  
 LAK: Deimel, *Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen* (1922) = *WDOG* 40.  
 LC: Nikolski, *Documents de Comptabilité Administrative de la Chaldée*, Lichatachew Collection (1915).  
 LTD: de Genouillac, *La Trouvaille de Drehem* (1911).  
 MA: Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie* (1926).  
 MAG: *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft*.  
 MDOG: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*.  
 MIB: Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Section* (1915).  
 MO: Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930).  
 OECT: *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*.  
 OLZ: *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*.  
 Or: *Orientalia*.  
 PUD: Keiser, *Patesis of the Ur Dynasty* (1919) = *YOS* IV, 2.  
 RA: *Revue d'Assyriologie*.  
 RAs: *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*.  
 RCS: Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (1857).  
 RIA: Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions de l'Asie* (1925).  
 RISA: Barton, *Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (1929).  
 RTC: Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes* (1903).  
 RV: Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*.  
 SAI: Meissner, *Seltene Assyrische Ideogramme*.  
 SAK: Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften* (1907).  
 SL: Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexicon*.  
 SBD: Barton, *Sumerian Business and Administrative Documents* (1915) = *UMBS* IX, 1.  
 STH: Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*.  
 SF: Deimel, *Schultexte aus Fara* (1923) = *WDOG* 43.  
 SLP: Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgies and Psalms* (1919) = *UMBS* X, 4.  
 SLU: Lutz, *Sumerian Temple Records of the Late Ur-Dynasty* (1928).  
 SRT: Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (1924).  
 STD: Keiser, *Selected Temple Documents of the Ur-Dynasty* (1919) = *YOS* IV.  
 SU: Poebel, *Sumerische Untersuchungen*.  
 TEU: de Genouillac, *Textes Économiques d'Oumma* (1922).  
 TRU: Legrain, *Le Temps des Rois d'Ur* (1912).

*UMBS: University Museum Publications, Babylonian Section.*

*VAT: Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Tontafeln.*

*Wengler: "Privatsammlung von Bergrat Wengler" (published in transliteration only in Or. 2, 5, 6).*

*WDOG: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der DOG.*

*WF: Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara (1924) = WDOG 45.*

*YOS: Yale Oriental Series.*

*ZA: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

*ZF: Altbabylonische Zeichnungen aus Fara (1920).*

System of transcription based on Thureau-Dangin's: *Les Homophones Sumériens.*

## DRAVIDIAN AND NUBIAN

EDWIN H. TUTTLE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE MAIN divisions of Dravidian are the Kanara-Tamil group, including Kēlan (Malayālam); Telugu, including the basis of Kodagu (*DD* § 25); the Gōndi-Kui group, including Kuvi, Parji, the basis of Tulu, and probably the basis of Badaga (*DD* § 19); Kurukh-Malto; Brāhui.<sup>1</sup>

The main divisions of Nubian are the northern dialects, Nile-Nubian; the southern dialects, Kordofān-Nubian; the southwestern dialect, Midōbi Nubian (*WZKM* 35.203). Old Nubian, as represented in the grammar of Zyhlarz, belongs to the northern group. Modern Nile-Nubian is divided into Mahassi and Kenūzi-Dongolāwi.

Early Kanara distinguishes, in native words, the consonants *p, b, m, v; t, d, n, s, R, r, l; ʈ, ɖ, ɳ, ʂ, ʃ, ʎ; c* (= Bohemian *t'*), *ɟ* (= Bohemian *d'*), *ñ* (= Spanish *ñ*), *j* (= German *j*); *k, g, ŋ; h*. Ancient *v* was probably bilabial, like the modern sound. Native *s* is a derivative of *c* not in contact with a consonant. Modern spoken Kanara has *ʃ* for *s* before palatal vowels. Ancient *R* was voiceless; it has become *r* in modern Kanara. Ancient *r* has changed to modern *l*. The occlusives *c* and *ɟ* have in modern speech become affricates, similar to those of English *charge*. Ancient *h* was perhaps voiced, like the modern sound; it represents *f* < *ph* < *p* not in contact with a consonant (*DD* § 6). A voiceless aspirate existed for a while in the words *inta* < *intha* < *intaha* (such), *anta* < *antha* < *antaha* (such), *enta* < *entha* < *entaha* (of what kind). Ancient Dravidian *s* and *ʃ* have been lost; between vowels they are commonly replaced by hiatus-fillers, *j* or *v* (< *w*) or *g* (< *gw* < *w*).

The present spelling of native Tamil words seems to represent the sounds used at least fifteen centuries ago. It lacks symbols for *s, ʃ*, and voiced occlusives; otherwise the sound-system of early

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<sup>1</sup> I use the following abbreviations: *DD* = my *Dravidian Developments* (1930); *KN* = Kordofān-Nubian; *MN* = Midōbi Nubian; *NN* = modern Nile-Nubian; *ON* = Old Nubian; *WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*.

Tamil was nearly the same as that of early Kanara. Spoken Tamil has a strongly trilled *r* for ancient *R*; *ndr* for *nR*, and *ttr* for *RR*. Northern spoken Tamil has *j* for *r*; this and other kinds of evidence indicate palatalized *r* as a source of *r* (*DD* § 12). Initial *c* and intervocalic *c* have become in modern speech a fricative resembling *š*; otherwise voiced sounds are now used for ancient simple occlusives between voiced sounds. Ancient *h*, found only before voiceless sounds, was presumably voiceless; it has disappeared from modern Tamil.

Early Telugu had a consonant-system much like that of Kanara, but lacking *r*. In Telugu, as in Kanara, *s* is a derivative of the palatal occlusive *c*. Old *R* has become *r*; a preliterate *r* seems to have developed variously to *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *r*, *ḷ*, *ḻ*. Preliterate *ṇ* has become *n*, except in contact with *ṭ* or *ḍ*.

Tulu has long been under the influence of Kanara, and has adopted its sound-system, including the use of *b* for initial *v*. The other well-known unwritten Dravidian tongues have sound-systems nearly the same as that of Telugu, except that they lack *š* and possess *r*. Some of them have partially kept the ancient *s* that is lost in southern Dravidian. Most of them also have *s* representing *c*; Gōndi has *h* or zero for ancient *s*; Kuvi has *h* for ancient *s* and for initial *s* < *c*. Gōndi has *r* for older *r*, and apparently *r* sometimes representing an old *R*. Brāhui has developed *f* from medial *p*, under the influence of a parallel development in Balūchi. Brāhui and Kurukh-Malto have the velar fricative *x*, apparently derived from *kh*; Malto and Brāhui have also the voiced fricative *ɣ*. Kui, Kuvi and Kurukh have a glottal occlusive, like the sound represented by hamzah in Arabic; its presence seems to be connected with the use of glottalized occlusives in the neighboring Kolarian tongues.

Old Nubian, as written, distinguishes the consonants *p*, *b*, *m*, *f*, *w*; *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *š*, *r*, *l*; *ʒ*, *ñ*, *j*; *k*, *g*, *ŋ*; *h*. Apparently *f* and *h* were used only in foreign words. Initial *n* seems to be lacking; from the word *ŋape* (sin), corresponding to Kopt *nabe*, we may infer a general change of initial *n* to *ŋ*. A palatalized *l* seems to be implied by the occasional change of medial *l* to *j*.

Modern Nile-Nubian, as described by Lepsius, has essentially the same sound-system as that of Old Nubian. The sound *h* is found only in foreign words; but there is a native *f*, derived from *p*. Apparently an affricate has replaced the occlusive *ʒ*; but I retain the

symbol  $\zeta$ , in consideration of the historic connection. Initial  $n$  is common. The sound  $s$  is sometimes visibly derived from an older  $c$ , as in *wissi* = *wiñzi* (star) and *dessi* = *KN teže* (green).

Kordofān-Nubian, as described in Kauczor's account of the dialect of Gebel Delen, has a voiceless  $c$  corresponding to voiced  $\zeta$ , and a native  $h$  derived from  $f$ . The sound  $s$  is a rare variant of  $\check{s}$ ;  $l$  is sometimes changed to a reverted  $l$ .

In literary Tamil no native word begins with  $l$ ,  $l$ , or any one of the three  $r$ -sounds. The same principle seems to have formerly prevailed in the other Dravidian languages. In Old Nubian, in modern Nile-Nubian, and in Kordofān-Nubian, no native word begins with  $l$  or  $r$ .

In southern Dravidian a verb may contain three suffixes: one forming the causative; one for tense or negation; and one for person and number or for impersonal modality. Kui has a suffix, *ara*, added to verb-stems when the object is a pronoun of the first or second person. This suffix was once generally used in the other Dravidian tongues, which show traces of it with loss of meaning. Thus Kanara has the variable stem *ta-*, *tar-* (bring), and Tamil has the variable stem *ta-*, *tar-* (give), corresponding to Kui *ta-* (bring): the Kanara-Tamil  $r$  is a meaningless relic representing the object-suffix. Another peculiar feature of Kui is the multiplex-suffix, used when a verb denotes multiplex action or has a multiplex object. One form of this suffix is *k*. In Tamil the infinitive-ending is sometimes *a* and sometimes *ka*; the added *k* is the multiplex-suffix with loss of meaning (cf. *AJPh* 50.149).

The general structure of Nubian verb-forms is like that of Dravidian verb-forms. In Old Nubian a suffix  $r$  is added to verb-stems if the object is in the singular, and a suffix  $\zeta$  if the object is in the plural. It is remarkable, however, that the  $r$ -suffix is sometimes added to the  $\zeta$ -suffix. We may infer that the  $r$ -suffix has changed its meaning, and that it originally represented a personal object. We thus get close likeness of form and essential agreement in function: Kui *ara* = ON  $r$ ; Kui *k* = ON  $\zeta$ . Nubian  $g$  interchanges with  $\zeta$  in *gem* = *žem* (year). In Mahassi the  $\zeta$ -suffix is now used as it was in Old Nubian. But in Kenūzi-Dongolāwi, and also in Kordofān-Nubian, we find  $r$  used as the plural-suffix. This use of the suffix can hardly be explained, if it originally denoted a singular object; but if it originally denoted a personal object, it could have



been limited to a personal plural, and then extended to the plural in general.

In Dravidian the most widely used suffix of past time is *t* or *d*. Another common suffix of past time is represented by *c* and its derivatives: Telugu *c* and *s*, Gōndi *tš*, *dž* and *s*, Kui *s*, Brāhui *s*, Kurukh-Malto *tš* and *dž*. Perhaps the *c*-suffix is merely a palatalized variant of the *t*-suffix. In Old Nubian and in modern Nile-Nubian the regular suffix of past time is *s*. Midōbi Nubian has a corresponding *h* as the suffix of past time.

In Dravidian the negative is commonly formed by adding the suffix *a* to verb-stems. In Kui, where the suffix is a glottal occlusive followed by various vowels, it may be combined with the suffix of past time, *t*. In Brāhui the negative-suffix is likewise combined with the suffixes of tense, *p* or *f* for the present and future, *t* for the past. In some of the Dravidian tongues a negative may be formed by using a separate word, as Tamil *nān pōkav illai* (I-going is not).

In Old Nubian a few verbs form the negative by prefixing *m*, as *men-*, *min-* (not be), *mon-* (not love). Likewise verbs with prefix *m* are found in modern Nubian. They do not however disturb the mainly suffixal character of Nubian word-formation; just as the *k*-prefix of Brāhui *kane* (me), corresponding to the *k*-suffix of Tamil *enakku*, does not disturb the generally suffixal character of Dravidian inflections. But the usual negatives of Old Nubian are made by suffixing *men* or *min* to verb-stems, and the same method is followed in modern Nile-Nubian and Kordofān-Nubian. An extremely odd development in Mahassi is the change of the verb *men-* to affirmative 'be'. Evidently *immin-*, recorded as the old negative of *in-* (be), was blended with the equivalent *men-*, producing *\*memmin-*, which, because of the negative-suffix, naturally gave an affirmative sense to *men-*. Dongolāwi and Kenūzi keep *mēn-* (not be) as a negative.

Midōbi Nubian has a Dravidian-like negative-suffix *ā*: *olLe* (struck), with *L* (voiceless *l*) for *h* after *l*, negative *olāhe*; *tirgehe* (ran), negative *tirgāhe*; *tirgwa* (will run), negative *tirgāwa*.

In *Dravidian Developments* I have explained in detail the history of *ēn*, *jān*, *ān*, *nān* (I), plural *ēm*, *jām*, *ām*, *āvu*; *\*is*, *ī*, *īnu* (you), plural *\*isir*, *īr*, *īru*; *tān* (self), plural *tām*, *tamaru*, *tāru*. The influence of *ēm* produced *\*īm* as a variant of *īr*; the stem *\*im-* became *um-* in Tamil. All varieties of Dravidian formed an inclu-

sive plural *nam-* < *\*in-em-* (you and us); most of them constructed a corresponding nominative *nām*; some of them develop a double plural *\*nāmkal*; Kēlan has *nōm* as a variant of *nām*.

Old Nubian has *ai* (I), plural inclusive *ū*, exclusive *er*; *ir* (you), plural *ur*; *tar* (he), plural *ter*. Vowel-length is not generally shown in the spelling of Old Nubian, but the length of *ū* may be inferred from the modern form *ū*.

In literary Dravidian the plural of the third person is used as an honorific singular. We may therefore compare Nubian *tar* with Kui *tāru*, Telugu *tāru*. Nubian nouns have *ri* as a plural-ending: *ter* may represent *\*tarri*. Tulu uses the plural *ir* as an honorific singular; we may compare Nubian *ir* with Tulu *ir*, Telugu *iru*, Kui *iru*. The Nubian plural *ur* looks like the Dravidian equivalent *um-*, either blended with Dravidian *ir* or combined with the Nubian plural-ending *ri*. Gōndi has *anā* < *\*anē* < *\*ēnēn* (I). Nubian *ai* may represent *\*ani* < *\*anē*; frequent weak stress would account for the loss of *n*, just as *ego* has lost *g* in the Romanic tongues that keep the *g* of *plāga*. Nubian *er* looks like the Dravidian equivalent *em-*, with *m* changed to *r* under the influence of *ur* and *ter*. If we assume that Dravidian *nōm* (you and we) and *um-* (you) were once used in Nubian, it is clear that their association might have produced *\*ōm* as a variant of *nōm*, just as in Badaga the association of *eṅga* (we) and *naṅga* (you and we) has produced *aṅga* as a variant of *naṅga*. Modern Kanara regularly has *-vu* or zero for old final *m*: likewise a Nubian *\*ōm* might have developed thru *\*ōv* or *\*ō* to *ū*.

Modern Nile-Nubian has in one dialect *ai* (I), plural *ū*; *ir* (you), plural *ur*; *tar* (he), plural *ter*; in another, *ai*, plural *ar*; *er*, plural *ir*; *ter*, plural *tir*. Emphatic forms are made by suffixing *ī*. The distinction of two plurals in the first person is lost; but one of the two forms is kept in each dialect. We may assume *ter* < *tari*; *tir* < *teri*; and likewise for the plural *ir* a development from *uri*, parallel with our *fill* beside *full*.

The Kordofān-Nubian of Delen has *e* (I), plural *i*; *a* (you), plural *u*; *te* (he), plural *tī*. Evidently these forms are closely related to those of Nile-Nubian; we may assume that *i* corresponds to *ūī*, the emphatic variant of *ū*. The Kordofān-Nubian of Gebel Dair, as described by Junker and Czermak, has *ē* (I), plural *ā*, *ai*; *ai* (you), plural *ū*; *tō* (he), plural *tī*. In the third person the sound *ṭ* represents *t* combined with *r*. The other forms cor-

respond to those of Nile-Nubian: *ai* = *erī*; *ū* = *ur*; *ā* = *ar*; *ai* = *arī*.

Midōbi has *oi* (I), plural inclusive *aŋa*, exclusive *ādi*; *in* (you), plural *uŋu*; *ōn* (he), plural *uŋa*. The Dravidian likenesses are remarkable: *aŋa* = Badaga *aŋga*; *in* = Kui *inu*; *ōn* = Gōndi *ōn-*, Tamil *avan*; *uŋu* = Tamil *uŋkal-*. The form *ādi* corresponds to NN *ar* or *arī*: the sounds *d* and *r* often interchange in Nubian. Perhaps *oi* should be assumed to represent an older form of KN *e*, *ē*, and NN *ai*, on account of the *o* in KN *on* (my), *oge* (me). Midōbi seems to be the only modern variety of Nubian that has kept both the inclusive plural and the exclusive plural. But the distinction is represented, as a matter of form, in KN *an* (our) = ON *en* (our, exclusive), beside *i* = NN *ūi*.

Dravidian-like forms are to be seen in ON and NN *in* (this), *man* (that). In southern Dravidian the influence of *avan* < \**awan* < \**aan* < \**asan* (that) caused *w* to be inserted in *ivan* < \**iwān* < \**ian* < \**isan* (this). In Gōndi each word developed independently: *ēn-* < \**ian* < \**isan*, *ōn-* < \**awan* < \**aan* < \**asan*. The Nubian forms are very close to Gōndi \**ian* and \**awan*.

The ordinary demonstratives of Brāhui are borrowed words: *dā* (this) from Afghan *dā*; *ē* (that) and *ō* (that) from premigrational Singhalese *ē-*, *ō-*. In the other Dravidian tongues simple vowels formed the bases of all demonstratives and interrogatives. Outside of the Gōndi-Kui group *e* is the general basis of interrogatives. In some of the Dravidian tongues frequent frasal connection with demonstratives, as in Kanara *ad ēn* (what is that?), caused *d* to be prefix to interrogatives. In southern Dravidian the lengthened basis *ē* sometimes became *jā* or *ā* as a normal fonetic development. The Dravidian interrogative bases are thus: in Gōndi-Kui, any vowel; elsewhere, *e*, *ē*, *jā*, *ā*, *dē*, *djā*, *dā*.

ON *is* (what) may be compared with Kanara *ēsu* (how much). KN *de* (who) is similar to Brāhui *dēr*, *dē* (who). We may compare KN *na*, *nā*, NN *nai*, *na*, *nī* (what) with various Dravidian equivalents: Kanara *ēna*, the accusative of *ēn*; Tamil *enna*; Kui *ana*, *ena*, *ina*, and the corresponding Parji *nā*; Kuvi *ēna*, *ēnai*, *ēni*.

Dravidian and Nubian lack relative pronouns.

The genders of Kanara-Tamil are male-personal, female-personal and non-personal, in the singular; personal and non-personal, in the plural. The same system once existed in the other Dravidian tongues. But in eastern Dravidian, Telugu and Kurukh-Malto,

sound-changes confused the words for 'he' and 'she', with the result that the neuter singular 'it' was adopted for 'she'. A parallel development occurred in Gōndi-Kui, with the further result that the neuter plural was used for the feminine plural. In Brāhui there is no distinction of gender, aside from the use of separate words for 'who' and 'what'. (Cf. BSOS 4. 769-78.) Likewise Nubian nouns show no distinction of gender.

Kanara nouns commonly have the plural-ending *kal* or *gaḷ*, corresponding to Tamil *kal*, Telugu *lu*, Tulu *kuḷu*, *ḷu*, Badaga *gro*, Kui *ka*, *ska*, *ṇga*, Gōndi *k*, *hk*, *ṇg*, Brāhui *k*. Personal nouns take the plural-endings *ar*, *arkaḷ*, *argal*, *ir*, *arir*, *gaḷir*, *arkaḷir*, *dir*, *dirir*, *dirgaḷ* in Kanara; *ar*, *ār*, *mar*, *mār*, *mārkaḷ*, *kaṇmār* in Tamil; *er* in Tulu; *r* in Kurukh-Malto. Masculine nouns have the plural-ending *ru* in Kui, *r* in Gōndi.

In Old Nubian the ordinary plural-ending of nouns is *gu* or *n(i)gu*; personal nouns may take *ri* or *rigu*. In modern Mahassi Nile-Nubian the usual ending is *gū*; other endings are *i*, *irī*, *rī*, *nḷi*. In Kordofān-Nubian the ordinary plural-endings are *i*, *il*, *ili*, *iñ*; a *t*-suffix of the singular is regularly dropt in the plural.

The ending of the dative is *ke*, *ge* in Kanara; *ku* in Tamil; *ku*, *kī* in Telugu; *kī*, *gī*, *ku*, *gu* in Tulu; *kī*, *gī* in Kui; *gē* in Kurukh; *k* in Malto. The ending of the dative-accusative is *ka* in Old Nubian; *gā* or *gi* in modern Nile-Nubian; *gi* in Kordofān-Nubian.

Tamil has a genitive-ending *n* or *in*. In Old Nubian and in modern Nile-Nubian the genitive-ending is *n* or *in*; in Kordofān-Nubian it is *n*, *en* or *nini*.

A few other noun-suffixes show likeness: Kanara *ol*, Tamil *ul*, Telugu *lō* inside — ON *lo* in, into, to; Tamil *il* in — ON *la* in; Telugu *tōda* with — ON *dal* with.

Native numerals stop at 3 in Brāhui, at 4 in Kurukh, at 2 in Malto. Five of the Dravidian numerals are similar to Nubian equivalents: Kanara *or*, *ōr*, Tamil *oru*, *ōr* 1, Gōndi *var* alone, Kui *vari* only — NN *wēr* 1, KN *are* alone, only; Kanara *ir*, Tamil *iru*, Telugu *iru*, Brāhui *irā* 2 — KN *ore* 2; Kanara *eṇṭu*, Tamil *eṭṭu* 8 — KN *eddi* 8; Kanara *ombattu*, Tamil *onpatu*, Gōndi *unmā* 9 — KN *wed*, *uwid* 9; Kanara *irpattu*, Tamil *irupatu*, *iruvatu*, Telugu *iruvai*, Tulu *irva* 20 — NN *aro* 20. Kanara *ai* (5) is similar to NN *i* (hand).

In the following word-list I have assumed that ancient *s* and *ś* disappear in Nubian, as they do in southern Dravidian; and that Nubian *s* and *ś* are derivatives of the palatal occlusive *c*, in accord with widespread Dravidian developments. I have sometimes assumed an interchange of *l* or *ṛ* with *n*: similarly *ṛ* and *n* often interchange in Kui. I also assume that *m* may interchange with *v* or *w*; such developments are common in Prākṛit, and a Nubian example is seen in KN *komīlti* = NN *kawirtē* (bird). The distinction between voiced and voiceless sounds is generally unimportant in Dravidian, and apparently in Nubian also.

Kanara *āḍ-* play : KN *od-* play.

Kanara *āg-*, *ā-*, Telugu *ag-*, *av-*, *a-*, *ā-* become, be made : NN *āw-* make.

Kanara *akka* sister : NN *keg* sister.

Kanara *an-*, *en-*, Tamil *en-*, Telugu *an-* say : NN *an-*, *en-* say.

Kanara *āne*, Telugu *ēnugu* elephant : KN *oṇul* elephant.

Tamil *anpu* love : ON *on-*, *un-* love. Tamil *pu* is a common suffix.

Tamil *aṛai-* call, call by name : NN *ēri* name. The Dravidian basis may be *\*arias* (cf. *DD* § 12).

Gōndi *aṛil* udder : NN *erti*, *irti* udder. The Gōndi word may represent *\*iral* or *\*iril*.

Gōndi *arr-* take : NN *ar-* take.

Kui *āsa* woman : NN *as* daughter.

Tamil *avarai* bean : NN *ogod* bean. The sounds *v* and *g* often interchange in Telugu.

Tamil *eṛ-* rise : KN *al-* raise.

Gōndi *ēr* water : KN *iri* sea.

Kanara *esaru* boiled water, Kui *siru* water : NN *essi* (< *\*erci*?) water. The Dravidian basis seems to be *\*icar*.

Kanara *ett-* take up, Telugu *ett-* take, take away, take up : ON *et-*, NN *ed-* take.

Kui *ia* mother : NN *ēn* mother.

Kanara *igaru* gums, Tamil *ejiru* (*j* < *ḷ* < *g*) tooth, tusk, gums : KN (Dair) *gil*, (Delen) *ḷili* tooth.

Kanara *ili*, Tamil *eli*, Telugu *elike* rat : NN *iris*, *irsi* rat.

Gōndi *in-*, *i-*, Kui *in-* (past *ise*) say : ON *il-*, *i-* (past *ise*) say.

Kanara *innu* yet, Tamil *ini* now : ON *el*, *il* now.

Kanara *ir-* be : ON *in-* be.

Kui *ōḍa* goat : KN *war* goat.

Tamil *oli* sun : KN *eḷ* sun. Palatalized *l* regularly became *ḷ* in early Spanish.

Kanara *ol* good, true, *olle* goodness, truth : ON *ale* truth.

Kanara *ugur*, Tamil *ukir*, Telugu *gōru* finger-nail : NN *gili* finger-nail.

Telugu *ūkon-* hear : ON *ulg-*, NN *ukkir-* hear.

Kurukh *ūxā* darkness : NN *ogū*, *ugū* night.

Kurukh *ullā* day : KN *ul* day.

Kanara *uri-* burn : NN *urr-* burn.

Kanara *usir*, *usur*, Tamil *ujir*, Telugu *usuru* breath, life, Kui *ūkoṛi*, *ūkuṛi* breath : NN *ugur* life. The Dravidian basis seems to be *\*ukiar*, which develop to *\*ucar* in southern Dravidian, and to *\*ukira*, *\*ukāri*, *\*ūkari* in Kui.

Kui *pandž-* be satisfied (of hunger) : ON *paññ-*, NN *faññ-* be hungry. Corresponding to Gōndi *hilk-* < *\*slik-* (be caught) and equivalent cognates in southern Dravidian, Kui has the resultant *slik-* (unfasten) : likewise 'be satisfied' is the resultant of 'be hungry'.

Kurukh *pandž-* investigate : ON *paḷḷ-* investigate. We can explain *pandž-* = *paññ-* and *pandž-* = *paḷḷ-* by assuming a basic *ḷ* for one and a basic *c* for the other. In early Dravidian all occlusives seem to have become voiced in contact with nasals.

Tamil *paṇki* hair : NN *fag* hair.

Kanara *para*, Telugu *prā*, *prāta*, Kui *prāḍi* old : NN *fār* old.

Tamil *paRi-* run away, escape : ON *pad-* flee.

Kui *par-* cut : ON *par-* write.

Telugu *parra* swamp : ON *parki* valley.

Kui *plā-* question : ON *pulu-* question.

Kurukh *pogrō* weak : ON *pokod*, NN *fogor* lame.

Kui *pok-* scatter, spill : ON *pok-*, NN *fōg-* pour out.

Kurukh *bēl* God : KN *bel* God.

Kanara *maga* son : ON *ḡa*, NN *ga* son. The Nubian words may represent *\*aḡa* < *\*amga*.

Kanara *male* mountain : NN *mulē* mountain.

Telugu *mañci* good : NN *mas* good.

Gōndi *māṛ-* be ended : ON *mor-* end.

Gōndi *mēṇḍ* filling, Telugu *mēṇḍu* abundant : ON *medd-*, *midd-* be full.

Kanara *mān* fish : NN *aṇissi* fish. Corresponding to Portuguese *uma* < *ūa* < *ūna*, Galician has *uḡa*, with *ḡ* derived from nasalized

hiatus-filling *w*; similarly *aṇissi* may represent *\*owinsi*, *\*ōwinsi*, *\*oṇinsi*.

Kanara *mān* star : NN *wissi* (< *\*winsi*), *winḷi*, *ūnḷi* star.

Tamil *miti*- jump : ON *mid*-, NN *mir*- run. English *leap* (jump) corresponds to German *laufen* (run).

Kanara *modal* beginning, first : NN *modul*, *mudul*, *mur*, *mumur* thumb.

Tamil *mujal*, *mucal* < *\*mical* < *\*mital*, Telugu *kundēlu* < *\*madēl* < *\*medal* < *\*midal* hare : NN *widlan*, *udlan* hare. The Telugu prefix is connected with Tamil *kuti*- (jump).

Kanara *muḷ* thorn : KN *nom* thorn. A development *nom* < *\*mon* < *\*mol* would be fairly simple.

Telugu *vākili* door : KN *ogul*, NN *agil* mouth.

Gōndi *veh*- explain, Kui *ves*- say : NN *wē*- say.

Kui *visa*, *viha*, Tamil *i* fly (noun) : NN *wai*- fly (verb). The Dravidian basis seems to be *\*wiṣa*; the form *i* may be compared with Tamil *tī* = Tulu *tū* < *\*twia* (fire).

Tamil *viṛi*, *miṛi*, *muṛi* eye : NN *missi* (< *\*mirci*), MN *pīdi* (< *\*bīri*) eye. NN *māñ*, a variant of *missi*, seems to represent *\*main*, formed under the influence of Arabic عَيْن.

Malto *tali* hair : NN *delti*, KN *telti* (plural *tel*) hair.

Kanara *tapp*- fail, *tav*- (< *\*tab*-) perish : ON *dapp*-, *tapp*-, NN *daff*-, *dabb*- perish.

Telugu *tār*- wander : NN *tār*- come.

Kui *tāsk*- wipe : ON *tošk*- dry.

Kanara *tin*-, Gōndi *tin*-, *tī*-, Kui *tin*-, *tī*- eat : KN *dī*-, MN *tī*-, NN *nī* drink.

Brāhui *tir*- (past *tiss*) give : NN *tir*- (past *tis*) give.

Kanara *tir*- die : NN *dī*-, KN (Dair) *tī*-, (Delen) *tī*- (< *\*tri*-?) die.

Telugu *toḍuku* cow : MN *tur* cow.

Brāhui *tōk*-, Kurukh *thōk*- strike : KN (Dair) *ḍug*-, (Delen) *dug*-, NN *tōg*- strike.

Tamil *tōRum* each : NN *dūtin* each.

Kui *tuh*- leave : ON *tok*-, *tuk*- leave. Kui *h* may represent *γ*, as in *sah* = Brāhui *say*- beat.

Kui *tug*- fasten : ON *deg*- fasten.

Kui *tūtu* belly : NN *tū* belly.

Tulu *tugal*, Kanara *togal*, Tamil *tōl* skin : KN *dor* skin. The Dravidian basis may be *\*tual*, *\*dual*.

Kui *ḍō-* (< \**drō-* < \**dōr-*?) sleep : NN *turb-* sleep.

Kanara *nālige*, Tamil *nā* tongue : NN *nar*, *nad*, *ned* tongue.

Kanara *neraḷ*, *neraḷ*, *nellu* shade : NN *nūr* shade.

Kanara *nēsaRu*, Tamil *nājiRu* (*j* < *ḡ* < *c*) sun : ON *mašar*, NN *maša*, *masil* sun. The Nubian *m* may have come from *malto* (east).

Tamil *nīlā* moon : KN *nonti* (plural *noni*) moon, month.

Kui *nīm̄b-* live, *nīpe* alive : ON *añ-* live. A root \**ani* could have made *nī-* and *añ-*.

Kanara *nurg-*, *nurc-* grind, Gōndi *nōr-* grind, Telugu *nuruc-* thresh, *nurumu* powder : NN *nūr-* thresh, grind, *nōrti*, *nūrti* meal.

Kanara *nūl* thread : NN *ūl* thread. We may assume a development similar to that of *an adder* from *a nadder*; the *n* could have been absorbed by a preceding genitive-ending *n*.

Gōndi *rōn*, *lōn* house : NN *nōg* house.

Gōndi *silvī* lip : KN *šalme* chin.

Kanara *sol* word : ON *sal* word.

Kanara *solle* nostril : NN *sorin* nose.

Kui *suḍa* mouth : NN *šundi* lip.

Kurukh *kā-*, *ker-* go : NN *ka-*, *kir-* come.

Telugu *kāg-*, Kui *kāg-* be heated : NN *kakk-* be heated.

Kanara *kal-* learn : NN *kull-* learn. A root \**kwal* would explain *a* and *u*.

Kanara *kal* stone : NN *kulu* stone, rock, mountain.

Kanara *kāl* foot : KN *kod*, *kogod* foot. The form *kogod* is parallel with NN *mumur* = *mur* thumb.

Kanara *kaṇ* eye : KN *kalti* (plural *kale*) eye.

Kanara *kāṇ-*, *kaṇ-* see : KN *gel-* see.

Tamil *kaḷi* joy : ON *kur-*, NN *gurr-* rejoice.

Kanara *kandu* (< \**kanRu* < \**kaḷru*), *kaRu*, Gōndi *kurrā* (< \**kaḷru*), Kui *kaluri* (< \**kaḷur*) calf : NN *gor*, *gur* calf, KN *korni* calves.

Kanara *kare* shore : NN *gār* shore.

Kanara *karte*, Tamil *karutai*, Telugu *gāḍide* ass : KN *koḷ* horse, NN *kaḷ* ass. The Dravidian basis seems to be \**ghauritas*, which became \**ghaurtas*, the source of Sanskrit *ghōṭa* (horse).

Tamil *kappal* boat : NN *kub* boat.

Tamil *katavru* door : NN *kobiḍ*, *kubiḍ* door.

Kanara *keḍ-*, *kiḍ-*, Tamil *keṭ-* perish : NN *kit-* perish.



Kanara *kedap-* throw down, Tamil *kiṭa-* lie down, *kiṭai* nest : ON *ken-* lay down, NN *kenti*, *ketti* nest.

Kanara *kēl-* hear : KN *kier-* hear. The Nubian *er* is a suffix, found in a number of verbs listed in the grammar of Kauczor (§ 252); *kier-* may be dissimilated from *\*kirer-*.

Kanara *ken*, Brāhui *xīsun* red : KN *kele*, NN *gēl* red. The Dravidian basis is *\*khenso* or *\*ghenso*.

Kanara *kera* shoe : NN *koris* shoe.

Kui *kogī* small : ON *koko* weak.

Kanara *kol-*, *koṇ-*, Telugu *kon-*, *koṇ-* take : ON *kon-* have.

Gōndi *kōṇḍā* brow : NN *koñ* face.

Kanara *kōṛi* fowl : KN *kokor* fowl.

Gōndi *kōṛi-* cut : NN *gōr-* cut.

Kanara *kuṛi* pit : KN *kol* pit, well, NN *kolē*, *kulē* well.

Kanara *kuṚi*, Tamil *koṚi*, Telugu *gorre* sheep : NN *ogod* sheep.

Kanara *kurūḍu*, Tamil *kurūṭu* blindness, Telugu *guḍḍi*, Malto *xoṭro* blind, Kurukh *xoṭor* broken : NN *dugur* blind.

Tamil *kuti-* jump : KN *kil-* jump over.

Gōndi *kutli* armpit : NN *kurti* joint.

Gōndi *gopēṛā* spider : NN *korūbē* spider.

Gōndi *ghōgāl* ant : NN *gōr*, *gūar* ant.

Kurukh *xapp-* swallow, ON *kap-*, NN *kab-* eat.

Kurukh *xōṭsol* bone : NN *gisir* bone.

It is curious that Nubian has Tamil-like direction-words, but with differences of meaning.

Kanara *keḷagu* below, Tamil *kiṛakku* below, east : NN *kalo* north.

Kanara *mēl* above, Tamil *mēl* above, west : NN *malto* east.

Tamil *vaḍa* north : NN *orro* south.

Tamil *ten* south : NN *tino* west.

The basic meanings of Tamil *kiṛakku* (which is really a dative, with the nominative *kīṛ*) and *mēl* are those of the Kanara cognates; the directional values depend on the geography of the Tamil region. These values might change with a change of geography: in the Nubian region downwards is north (*kalo*) and upwards is east (*malto*). If *vaḍa* and *ten* had the basic meanings 'windwards' and 'seawards' or 'riverwards', these too could have changed their directional values with a change of geography.

# RAIN, DEW, SNOW, AND CLOUD IN ARAB PROVERB

EDWARD ROBERTSON

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF NORTH WALES

BANGOR, WALES

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## Rain

ON THE NAMES given to the different kinds of rain, see the *Kitāb al-maṭar* of Abu Zaid al-Anṣārī, edited by L. Cheicho in *Al-Mašriq*

8 (1905). 162 sq. On magic and rites for rain-producing, see Doutté, 582 sq. (N. Africa); Westermarck, 105 sq. (Morocco); Dalman, 56 sq. (Syria and Palestine). On songs for rain, see Destaing, 254 sq. (Ammi-Mousa); Stumme 62 sq. (181 sq.) (Tripoli); Cana'an, 290 sq.; Dalman, l. c. (Palestine). On rain processions, see Baldensperger, 218 sq. (Palestine); Jaussen, 326 (Moab). On rites for preventing rain, see Doutté, 305 sq. (N. Africa); Westermarck, 125 sq. (Morocco).

Seasonal rains are given special names. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, s. v. **خريف**, gives Al-Aṣmaʿī as the authority for the names of the well-recognised seasonal rains. The first at the approach of winter is **الخريف**, followed in order by **الوَسْمَى** (at the approach of Spring) **الربيع** and **السيم**. According to Abu Zaid the first rain is **الوَسْمَى**, followed by **الشتوى**, **الخريف**, **الصيف**, **السيم**. According to Cal. Cord. the rain of spring is called **صيف** and the end of it **الدفتى** or **الدثتى** (p. 8). The rain of summer is called **السيم** as well as **الرمضى** and **الشمسى**. Autumn rain is known as **الوَسْمَى** [لأنه يسيم الأرض بالنبات] and the last of it is called **الولى**. Winter's rain is known as **ربيع** (p. 10). The names, however, vary in different countries and in different districts. Thus in Moab **الجوزة** or **الجوزاء** is the term applied to heavy rain after the first of January, whilst the rain that falls at the end of February and beginning of March is called **قران العجائر** (Jaussen, 324 sq.). In Syria the rain of **كانون** (Dec.-Jan.) is called **القاعدة** (foundation, i. e., for the harvest). In Moab the rain of February is known as **الشعراء**, and that which falls on the fifth of the month is **قران التسعوى**. It lasts about nine days (Jaussen, l. c.). Jaussen also mentions that there falls in Moab in the month of April a rain called **سماك** (pronounced *samatch*) and also **قران المتاعين** (324 sq.). In Syria the spring rains are known as **مُرَابع** or more commonly **مرايع**. In Palestine at the end of September or beginning of October there falls the rain called **مَطُوح** **شتوة**, a rain which is reckoned harmful to sheep and goats in the Jordan valley (Bauer, B, 55 sq.). The light rain which

falls there at this time is also known as شتوة مساطيح<sup>1</sup>. To the nomads of Moab it is العريف (Jaussen, 323). Similarly the rain at the beginning of November goes by a special name المطر الشر ياوى, and if it falls abundantly it is dreaded. In modern Palestine the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas are especially entreated for rain (Cana'an, 289, note 1). Jaussen remarks that all the different kinds of rain are included under the term مربعية الشتاء, but it seems probable that الشتاء here is the general name for 'winter season' and not for rain.

Rain enters into many an Arab proverb and popular saying. It is used, for instance, in similes as

1. "More serviceable than rain in its season" — اجدى من — الغيث في أوائه (Freytag I, 335 (No. 191); (Majānī-l-adab, V. 55). Said of something that is particularly good.

2. "Colder than after rain" — ابرد من غب المطر (Maidānī, vide Majānī-l-adab, V. 54).

3. "Wetter than the rainy night" — اندى من الليلة الماطرة — (B. M. 3035, fol. 108. Rev.: Freytag II. 794, No. 141); var. من الحجر, من القطر, من الرباب.

4. "Softer than the tears of the clouds" — ارق من دمع الغمام. (Freytag III, 198, No. 1184; 'Askarī, 112).

Two prognostics may be here quoted.

5. "When the South wind blows rain is near" — اذا قبلت — اقبلت (Syria, Sūq al-Gharb). The South wind is the rainy wind and is often poetically described as coming bearing its water-jar on its shoulder.<sup>2</sup>

6. In Algeria—Tunis, the East wind is the bringer of rain.

<sup>1</sup> In Palestine the fruit (grapes and figs) spread by the peasant on the flat roof of his house to dry in the sun is called مسطاح. Rain spoils such fruits, Cana'an, 274 (1).

القيلى جرته على كتفه.<sup>2</sup>

Rain brought by it falls copiously — *المطر اذا شَرَّق غَرَّق*. (Cheneb, No. 1773: Dalil, 60, *var.* *شَرَّقَتْ عَرَّقَتْ*.)

The proverbs and proverbial sayings in which rain occurs are sufficiently numerous and interesting.

7. Corresponding to our "It is raining cats and dogs" or "in buckets", the Arabs say "One of its hours will suffice for its needs" — *ساعة من ساعته بتقضى حاجاته*

This proverb, although based upon rain, has a general application.

8. "Luck in the cloud but intelligent anticipation in the earth" — *حظ في سحاب وعقل في تراب* (Freytag I, 415, No. 223). Rain is not sufficient of itself. Whether it rains or not may be a matter of good or bad fortune but to benefit from it the soil must be intelligently prepared.

9. "The damp day causes rheumatism" — *يوم الرطب يوجع الركب* (Egypt).

10. "No one lends his roof-pipe on a rainy day" — *ما [أ] حد* — *يعطى مرزيبه يوم المطر* *a.* Mōsul-Mārdīn, Socin, 30).<sup>3</sup> The water that falls is drained by the design of the roof towards one part whence it is led away by a pipe which projects from the roof one or two feet.

11. "He fled from the rain and stood under the roof-pipe" — *فرّ من المطر قعد تحت المزراب* (*a.* Egypt, Cairo: Burekhardt, 213 (No. 474); Bājūrī, 117; Maidānī II, 25. *var.* *ميزاب* ; *b.* Algeria, Algiers: Cheneb, No. 1912; Machuel, 327. *هرب من* ; *c.* 'Irāq, Mōsul-Mārdīn: Socin 148. *القطرة جاء تحت الميزاب* ; *d.* Palestine, Jerusalem: Einsler, 116. *هربنا من الدلف وقعنا تحت المزراب* ; *e.* Syria, Sidon Landberg, 21: . . . *هرب من تحت الدلف قعد* ; *f.* Syria, Brummana: Tallqvist, 177. *من الدلفة لتحت المزراب* ; *g.* Syria: Nauphal, 627; Shuqair, 48, Harfouch, 318 as *f* with *الدلفة* for *الدلف* ; *h.* Egypt: Fāris, 201; Bashāra, 90; and Syria: Sa'ad,

<sup>3</sup> Socin gives it *mā ḥad jiṭ'i merzību jōm elmaṭar* reading *يعطى* instead of *يعطى*.

321 as *g* with من تحت for من . Cf. also Baumann, ZDPV 39, 1898, 258 (223, No. 572); i. Malta: Vassalli, 373. خلص من تحت القطار ويحل تحت المزيبي. This proverb corresponds to our "Out of the frying-pan into the fire".

12. "Sleeping in water and fearful of rain" — نائم في المية (Egypt: Shuqair, 109, 39). A proverb with a general application similar to the preceding.

13. "Where there is rain there is cloud" (If it wants to rain, it clouds over) — لو ارادت تمطر كانت غيِّمت (a. Syria, Beirut; b. Egypt, Cairo: Burckhardt, 263, No. 584, var. لو كانت; c. Rostgaard, 169, 451, var. لو تشقى; d. Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim 559, 77; e. Freytag III. 495, 2972; لو كان بدّها تشقى كانت غيِّمت; f. Egypt: Bājūrī, 144, . . . لو تمطر غيِّمت). A proverb the equivalent of "Where there is smoke there is fire".

14. "Does one look for rain without a cloud?" — هل يرتجي (Freytag, III. 190, 1132). The equivalent of the preceding.

15. "The rain preceded the cloud" — قبل السحاب حاني (Egypt: Bājūrī, 129). The unexpected happened.

16. "Knowledge without its application is like a cloud without rain" — علم بلا عدل مثل غيم بلا مطر. (Syria: Barthélemy, 361, 63; var. غام)

17. "Death and rain God knows when" — الموت والشتا الله (Malta: Vassalli, 63, 566; var. شمس وشتا; see Vassalli, 84, 780).

18. "I see a cloud and no rain" — ارى حالا ولا مطر. (Freytag I, 555, 100). Said of anything which does not realise expectations.

19. "A prince without equity is like a cloud without rain" — امير بلا عدل كغيم بلا مطر. (Freytag, III, 18, 103).

\* Although Freytag so reads and translates in the 2nd pers. the impersonal form is much more probable.

\* *Elēm belā amal mitēl ghēm belā maṣar.*



20. "Every cloud does not produce rain" — كل غيم ما يجيب المطر. (Irāq, Mōṣul-Mārdīn: Socin, 389).
21. "The sun rising and the rain descending" — الشمس طالعة والمطر نازل. (Rostgaard, 101, 220). When things turn out contrary to expectation and hopes are blighted.
22. "The sun rises and the rain falls on everyone" — الشمس تطلع والشتا تنزل على كل حد. (Malta: Vassalli, 83, 779).
23. "What follows the thunder save rain" — ما ورا الرعد الا الشتا. (Syria, Shumlān). What could you expect?
24. "His rain preceded his flood" — سبق مطرٌ سيله (Freytag I, 613, 35). Due warning was given; it has happened as threatened.
25. "Thunder and lightning, but it is a rainless cloud which sheds (its water)" — رعدًا وبرقًا والجهم جافر (Freytag I, 566, 151). When acts do not correspond with words.
26. "Rainlessness behind the thundercloud" — صلف تحت (Muḥīt al-Muḥīt, s. v. راعدة). Said of a man who boasts much but does little.
27. "Rain makes good what the hail destroys" — اصلح غيث ما افسد البرد. (Habicht, No. 17; Freytag I, 724, 36, a, II, 96, 59). الغيث مصلح ما عاد غيث على ما افسد. جبّل.
28. "He raises his eyelid and down falls the rain" — يرفد الشفر يطيح المطر. (Cheneb, 2027). He weeps much; he wishes someone to take pity on him.
29. "No rain without winds and no assembly without uproar" — ما مطر بلا ارياح وما قوم بلا صياح. (Palestine, Jerusalem: Einsler, 100, 201; Baumann, 257, 221 and 551. ما مطر الا برياح. Everything has its appropriate cause.
30. "He who is rained on thinks that all are rained on" —

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\* Socin (see Einsler, l. c.) suggests كون instead of قوم, but this is highly improbable, as Baumann's reading indicates.

يَحْسِبُ الْمَطُورَ أَنَّ كُلَّ مُطَرٍّ. (Freytag, II, 914, 39). Said of the opulent who forget that all others are not in like state.

31. "He who has fallen into the river does not fear the rain" —  
الَّذِي طَاحَ فِي الْوَادِ مَا يَخَافُ مِنَ الشَّتَاءِ. (Algeria, Medea: Cheneb, No. 228; see also Cheneb, I, 296 sq.). a. Soudan: Shuqair, 130.  
المَطُورَةُ مَا بَتَبَالِي مِنَ الرَّشِّ. b. Oman—Zanzibar: Reinhardt, 412, 154. c. Palestine, Jerusalem: العُرْقَاةُ مَا تَبَالِي بِالطُّشِّ. Baumann, 243, 178 and 166. المبلول ما يخاف من رشق المطر.

32. "He who does not want to be wet should not go out in the rain" —  
مَيْنَ مَا يَرِيدُش يَمْتَلِّ مَا يَخْرُجُش فِي الشَّتَاءِ. (Malta: Vassalli, 67, 604).

33. "A land on which rain falls tells its neighbour" —  
أَرْضًا امْطَرَةُ بَشَّرَتْ لَاحْتِبَهَا. ('Irāq, Mōṣul-Mārdīn: Socin, 74).  
"Good news travels fast" or "Beggars tell each other".

34. "Has that cloud caused the rain?" —  
ذَاكَ غَيْمٌ جَابَ هَذَا — (Syria, Berggren, 589, s. v. *nuage*; 'Irāq: Socin, 306).  
المطر All this due to such a trifle!

35. "It has passed on the wind without rain" —  
مَرَّتْ عَالِ رِيحٍ — (Malta: Vassalli, 70, 633). The good prospects have not materialised.

36. "The rain falls and the sky pours" —  
النَّوْءُ صَبَّ وَالسَّمَاءُ يَرُوي (Algeria, Chelif: Cheneb, 3038). One can get too much of a good thing.

#### Dew

37. "He is cold like the locusts on the dew" —  
بَارِدٌ زَى الْجَرَادِ. (Palestine, Jerusalem: Baumann, 245, 185, No. 222). —  
The use of زَى suggests an Egyptian source for the proverb.

38. "Will you carry the dew on your back?" —  
بَذَكَ تَشِيلُ — (Palestine, Jerusalem: Baumann, 246, 186, No. 239.) Why travel before sunrise?

39. "Until the big well fills with dew" —  
حَتَّى يَمْتَلِئَ الْبَيْرُ — (Palestine, Jerusalem: Baumann, 247, 191, No. 285). You will wait till doomsday.

40. "A cistern is not filled with dew" — جب ما يمتلي (Egypt, Cairo: Burckhardt 73, 185; a. Palestine: Bauer, *V. L. B.* 253, 89. البير الفارغ لا يمتلي (يمتلي) من الندى. b. Syria: Burton, 282, 114. Said to a person who lives beyond his income.

41. "His face gives no dew" — وجهه ما بدي (Palestine, Jerusalem: Baumann, No. 606). Said of one who is shameless. The Arab does not blush but "sweats" from shame.

42. "Dew is the bed of rain" — الندى فراش الشتا (Palestine: Cana'an, 286). Heavy dew is to the peasant a harbinger of rain.<sup>7</sup>

### Snow

43. There are self-evident similes such as

- a. "whiter than snow" — ابيض من الثلج
- b. "colder than snow" — ابرد من الثلج

44. "If it snows there will follow good weather" — اذا تَلَجَّتْ — (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 83).

45. "Tomorrow the snow will melt and the black earth appear" — غدا يدوب الثلج ويبان السواد (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 84; a. Syria: Burton 293, 182; var. لا بدّ يدوب الثلج ويبان. b. 'Irāq, Mōṣul-Mārdīn: "when the snow melts the dung appears" — سيذوب الثلج يبيّن الخراء. (Syria: Ma'lūf, 262. (dung) (يبيدوب الثلج ويتبان الرباله) Said of a man who makes much fuss about business of no importance.

46. "He to whom fortune is kind can raise fire from snow" — الى يرافقه السعد يطيلع من الثلج نار. (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 85).

<sup>7</sup> How important dew is for the grain in summer when rain has ceased to fall is shown by the following petition "(Give us) the dew, O Lord, at the earing of the corn, may then the olives ripen or not" — يا ربّي الندى عند نفث المروادة وان اجأ الزيتون والا عمر ما اجأ. يا ربّي الندى والمبردا عند نفث — (Beth-Rīma) — (see Cana'an, 295).

## Cloud

47. "The cloud foreboded rain, but there was no prognosticator" — سَكَابَةٌ خَالَتْ وَلَيْسَ شَايِمٌ (Freytag, I, 632, 98). Said of him who possesses wealth but there are none to proclaim it.

48. "Summer clouds which have no raindrops" — ظِلَالٌ صَيْفٌ مَا لَهَا قَطَارٌ (Freytag, II, 64, 14). Said of one who, although he has the means, is not generous to others.

49. "Not every lightning cloud is profuse with its rain" — مَا كُلُّ بَارَقَةٍ تَجُودُ بِمَائِهَا (Freytag, II, 720, 446). Appearances are deceptive.

50. "Had it not been for this cloud, this rain had not come" — لَوْلَا هَالْغِيمِ مَا جَا هَالْشَتِي. (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 76). See the consequences!

51. "The barking of dogs does not harm the clouds" — لَا يَضُرُّ لَاسْكَابِ نَبِجِ الْكَلَابِ. (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 80; *a.* Syria, Shuqair, 56, 63; var. لَبَاج). The exalted are too far removed to listen to your complaints or be affected by them.

52. "Promise is cloud, its fulfilment rain" — الْوَعْدُ سَكَابٌ وَالْفِعْلُ مَطَرٌ. (Syria, 'Akkār: Ghānim, 559, 81).

53. "Like the cloud, far and near" — زَى السَّكَابِ قَرِيبٌ بَعِيدٌ (Egypt: Shuqair, 85, 32). You never quite know where to get him.

54. "He is only a rainless cloud" — مَا هُوَ إِلَّا سَكَابَةٌ نَاصِئَةٌ (Freytag, II, 641, 177; *a.* Freytag, I, 555, 100 مَطَرٌ) Said of a man who is miserly.

55. "Clouds fit for rain, the greater part of which is vapor" — مَخَايِلُ أَعْزَرَهَا السَّرَابِ. (Freytag, II, 655, 245). Freytag explains that the vapor is the midday mist of the desert which has all the appearance of holding moisture, but actually has none. The proverb is used of one whose deeds do not accord with his words.

56. "The day of cloud passes unobserved" — يَنْهَبُ يَوْمُ الْغَيْمِ وَلَا يُشْعَرُ بِهِ. (Freytag, II, 910, 28; Egypt: Bājūrī, 219). Said of one who suffers the opportune moment to slip past.

57. "An honourable man fulfils what he promised and the storm cloud pours when it thunders"—انجز حرّما وعد وسع حال (Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften* I, 453, quoting De Sacy; a. Freytag, II, 747, 6. انجز حرّما وعد

58. "Before the clouds (appeared), the rain surprised me"—58. "Before the clouds (appeared), the rain surprised me"—قبل السحاب اصابني<sup>8</sup> الوكف. (Egypt, Cairo: Burckhardt, 243, 529). Unheralded good fortune.

59. "Opportunities pass as clouds pass"—الفرص تمرّ مرّ (Freytag, II, 239, 127; Syria: Shuqair, 34, 9). Lost opportunities cannot be recovered.

60. "He came with a cloud thundering and crashing"—جاء بذاب الرعد والصليل. (Freytag, I, 312, 119). He came threatening and blustering.

#### Miscellaneous

61. "He thunders and lightens"—يرعد ويمرق (Freytag, II, 910, 29). Said of a man hurling threats.

62. "Light rain is of no use in the wide river-bed"—ما تنفع (Freytag, II, 586, 1; a. var. ترقع (restore); b. var. (Qāmūs) تنقع stagnate). Said of one who gives another a small present of which he can make no use.

63. "Swifter than the gleaming flash of lightning"—اسرع (Freytag, III, 224, 1340; a. Syria: Shuqair, 11, 53; Bājūrī, 21. (اسرع من البرق).

64. "The day thunder roars, addles eggs"—يوم ينهم الرعد (Rheinhardt, 400, 30). يمرق البيض.

65. "Mist in the evening requires faggots for the fire"—(Syria, Sūq-al-Gharb). غطيطة عشية بدّها قرمية.

66. "Four days for four occupations: a day of cloud for the chase, a day of wind for sleep, a day of rain for entertaining guests, and a clear (sunny) day for trade (profit)"—اربعة ايام (Syria, Sūq-al-Gharb).

<sup>8</sup> Burckhardt explains that the word وكف for rain is no longer used in Cairo.

لاربعة اعمال. يوم الغيم للصيد ويوم الريح للنوم ويوم المطر للمنادمة  
 لا ربعة اعمال. (Freytag, III, 182, 1099). ويوم الصحو للكسب

*Sun and Rain together*

67. "The lizard is giving his daughter in marriage" — الكردون  
 ببيزوح بنته (Syria, Sūq al-Gharb: Palestine: Hanauer, 282; var.  
 شيخ الكراذين). This is a curious saying, the origin of which I  
 have been unable to discover. It is used of the occasion when the  
 sun shines through rain, or, more particularly (Sūq al-Gharb)  
 when the rain falls as the sun is rising. In Algeria (Medea) it is  
 known as "the wolf's wedding" (عرس الذيب) and amongst the  
 Kabyles (N. Africa) it is called "the jackal's wedding".

Fantastic conceptions of great variety are found in the folk-lore  
 of Europe to express this particular phenomenon. Many of these  
 are associated with the Devil. Thus he "marries a wife"  
 (Tuscany); "marries his daughter" (Albret, Ardennes, Bour-  
 gogne, Bretagne, Gironde, Limousin, Poitou, Wallonia); "marries  
 his mother" (Provence); "beats his wife" (Bourgogne, Bretagne,  
 Gascogne, Hainaut, Limousin, Normandy, Provence); "beats his  
 mother" (Wallonia); "beats his grandmother" (Germany);  
 "makes love" (Auvergne, Tuscany, Venice); "goes into a con-  
 vent" (Venice); "The saints are holding a fête in Paradise"  
 (Hainaut); "There is a feast in Hell" (Holland, Rhineland);  
 "The Virgin is doing her washing" (Loire-Inférieure); "The  
 fairies are doing their washing" (Aveyron); "The witches are  
 doing their washing" (Provence); "The Virgin is baking bread  
 for the angels" (Anjou); "The witches light their oven and bake  
 bread" (Béarn, Gascogne, Landes); "The fox is making love"  
 (Corsica); "The wizards hold a council" (Menton); "The  
 witches make butter" (Galicia, Poland, Upper Silesia); "A tailor  
 gets into Heaven" (Germany).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See F. Colletti, *Proverbi Veneti*, Padova, 1853, p. 79; M. Le Roux de  
 Lincy, *Le Livre des Proverbes Français*, 2<sup>e</sup> ed., Paris, 1859, p. 131; O. V.  
 Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das Wetter im Sprichwort*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 52;  
 C. Swainson, *A Handbook of Weather Folklore* . . . Edinburgh, 1873, p.  
 213 sq.; F. Mistral, *Lou Tresor dóu Felebrige, ou Dictionnaire Provençal-  
 Français*, Aix en Provence, 1878 (s.v. *diable*); A. Meyrac, *Traditions,  
 Legendes et Contes des Ardennes*, Charleville, 1890, p. 139; P. Sébillot,  
*Le Folklore de France*, Paris, 1904, p. 83 sq.; Guisepe Giusti, *Raccolta*

68. "Rain and sun (together); it is as if a Jew was being baptised" — الشتا والشمس قاعد يتعمد اليهودى (Malta: Vassalli, 84, 783).

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*di Proverbi Toscani*, 3 ed., Firenze, 1911, p. 194; W. O. Streng, *Himmel und Wetter im Volksglaube und Sprache in Frankreich* (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia, Ser. B 13, 4) Helsinki, 1914, p. 21 sq.

# TRANSLITERATION OF THE NAMES OF CHINESE BUDDHIST MONKS<sup>1</sup>

JAMES R. WARE  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CONTRARY to beliefs which prevail in some quarters, occidental sinology of good quality has been and continues to be the result of the recognition and the application of the fruits of centuries of Chinese native scholarship. This does not mean that the occidental is bound to accept as the gospel truth any and every statement made by any Chinese in regard to any problem. In using Chinese books, and in seeking Chinese advice, we must exercise the same discretion that is shown towards our fellow-citizens of the West.

In addition to the problems presented by his subject itself, the occidental sinologist is troubled and annoyed by a multitude of nasty little snags which, on the large, if left unsolved, do not alter materially any fundamental truth which he may have succeeded in establishing, but which, if successfully solved, will add to the beauty and finesse of his demonstration.<sup>2</sup> One that I would like to discuss is that of the transliteration of Chinese Buddhist names.

Accord now seems to be established (entirely in harmony with and in natural imitation of the Chinese' own habits) that names like K'ung Ying-ta and Ssü-ma Ch'ien are to be written in the way here employed: i. e., K'ung and Ssü-ma, the surname or family name, form indivisible units, and, when composed of two syllables, are to be joined by a hyphen, the capital letter being used only for the first syllable. The same reasoning also applies to the personal name, as well as to the *tzü* or *hao*. It is only on the rarest occasions that these compound names, whether surname or personal name, are separated.<sup>3</sup> The writer has, in fact,

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<sup>1</sup> The correct handling of this problem is constantly exhibited in some journals, but owing to its mishandling in many books which the young sinologist is forced to use, a *mise au point* of the problem will, we hope, not be considered untimely or presumptuous.

<sup>2</sup> Try to imagine, for example, a transliterated Sanskrit text without the markings of the long vowels!

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ch. 4 of the *Shih t'ung t'ung shih* 史通通釋 (p. 2b<sup>5</sup> of the Ssü pu pei yao ed.) where we read Ma Ch'ien 馬遷 for Ssü-ma Ch'ien.



never seen a compound personal name written without its accompanying element.

As for the names of Buddhist monks, the problem, while seemingly more difficult, is, in the end, equally simple. As a rule, the monk is known to us by a name which seems complete in two syllables, and our first impulse is to treat it on the model of a name like Liu Hsin or Sun Fo. These names of monks are, however, religious names—names assumed on entering the religious life—and are to be compared to the *tzü* or *hao* of the Chinese layman,<sup>4</sup> and are subject to the same treatment. We must, therefore, write Fa-hsien, I-ching, Hsüan-tsang,<sup>5</sup> etc. But, what was

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<sup>4</sup> It is common enough for a Chinese to be known by merely his *ming*, *tzü*, or *hao*. Cf. Chung-ni 仲尼 = Confucius; Tzū-chang 子張 = Chuan-sun Shih 顓孫師; Tzū-yu 子游 = Yen Yen 言偃.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the saddest spectacle in Sino-Indological studies is composed of the distortions which this individual's name has undergone in the West. The first misfortune arose when he was presented to the Occident in the dress of a French transliteration which even a Frenchman could not correctly reproduce orally unless the many conventionalities of their system of transliteration had already been explained to him. Consequently, Rhys Davids, at the beginning of Watters' well-known book, could, in all innocence, proceed to a seemingly logical demonstration of the exact equivalence of the French "Hiouen Thsang" 玄奘 and Watters' "Yüan Chwāng" 元奘. But, of course, thereby hangs a tale.

One of the meanest snags in Sinology, both for the native and the foreigner, is the problem of taboos. The commonest form of taboo is the personal names of the emperors of a reigning dynasty. Now, K'ang-hsi, one of the most renowned rulers of the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, had the personal name of Hsüan-yeh 玄燁, and, consequently, neither of these characters could be used under that dynasty in its correct form; either another form had to be invented for the character, or else some other character had to be substituted for it. Both methods were employed to replace 玄, and the substitute character was *yüan*, which is vaguely similar in sound, but which has totally different meanings. Therefore, every 元 in a Ch'ing dynasty text is under the suspicion of really representing a 玄. Fortunately, we possess texts older than the Ch'ing dynasty, and from these we can easily learn which was the true character, and, in this case, we learn that the monk's name was 玄奘, just as Chêng Yüan 鄭元 is found for Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄. It is evident, therefore, that when he wrote and transliterated Yüan 元, Watters was following a Ch'ing taboo—an inexcusable error on his part. The first character of this name, then, is 玄 which we transliterate *hsüan*.

the monk's family name? This was the question asked also by the Chinese, and it received various answers.

Many monks from abroad had Sanskrit names, and these were represented by transcriptions, translations, or by a mixture of these two methods. Chiu-mo-lo-shih = Kumārajīva; T'ien-ch'in 天新 = Vasubandhu; Fa-lan 法蘭 = Dharmaratna.<sup>6</sup> The names of three or four syllables could be pressed easily into the Chinese name-mould, the first one or two characters designating a surname and the last two a personal name. Those names of two syllables, however, caused a little difficulty which was solved by giving the individual in question a family name modeled on the Chinese name of his native country. A Hindu belonged to the Chu 竺 family; a Sogdian to the K'ang 康 family; an Indo-Scythian to the Chih 支 family; and a Persian to the An 安 family.<sup>7</sup>

This plan worked all right for the foreigners, but, when Chinese began to become monks, they seem to have felt that they were abandoning their family name. There are instances where the old family name continued in use: cf. Wei Tao-an 衛道安 in *Wei shu*<sup>8</sup> 魏書 114.2b<sup>12</sup>, altho the individual here mentioned favored the following solution, which became the generally accepted one. In ch. 15 of the *Ch'u san tsang chi chi* 出三藏記集, Taisho 55.108BC we read: "Formerly, the *śramaṇas* under

Unfortunately, we cannot close our note at this point. Also by the character 契 there hangs a tale. It is an agreed convention among western Sinologists to use as the basis of their transliterations the dialect used in and around Peiping. Now, at Peiping, this character is pronounced *chuang*. The Sinologist, however, is haunted by another spectre—special pronunciations for characters. The famous K'ang-hsi dictionary tells us that this character is pronounced also like the character 葬, which at Peiping is *tsang*, and quotes as an example the name of our illustrious pilgrim. Therefore, this being a name that belongs to the hook language, we must follow the special reading of that language, just as, when reading a good classical text we say, along with the Chinese scholar, *chi* 給 and not *kei*, reserving the latter pronunciation for our conversation.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Pelliot, *JA*, 1914, II. 387, note 1. A certain example is Ta-chia-chan-yen 大迦旃延 Mahākātyāyana.

<sup>7</sup> T'ien-chu 天竺 = India; K'ang-chü 康居 = Sogdiana; Yüeh-chih 月氏 (= 支 according to Chinese commentators) = Indo-Scythians; An-hsi 安息 = Persia.

<sup>8</sup> I use the T'u shu chi ch'eng edition.

the Wei <220-265> and Chin <265-316> took their teacher's surname; consequently, all did not have the same surname. <Tao->an<sup>9</sup> <pushing this custom to its ultimate and logical conclusion> claimed that the original teacher was the highly honored Śākya, and, accordingly, held that the natural surname <for a monk> was Shih."<sup>10</sup>

Such is the solution arrived at in the fourth century, and it has, on the whole, been followed by the competent ever since. It will be noticed that the *Shih hsing yün pien* 史姓韻編 lists all its monks at the end of ch. 62 under the caption *Shih shih* 辭氏 "the Shih-family" = "Buddhists." The arrangement under this caption, however, is confusing and would lead one to think that the author would analyze the names as tho purely Chinese; but in this, he is certainly not to be followed. It will be noticed also that the *Commercial Press Biographical Dictionary, Chung kuo jên ming ta tz'ü tien* 中國人名大辭典, lists the monks under their religious names, and does not put a dot between them, thereby indicating that it is an inseparable compound.

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<sup>9</sup> This, tho not an uncommon treatment of two-syllabled Buddhist names, must be considered erroneous. Cf. *Wei shu* 114.7a<sup>11</sup>—where we read of "the Masters of the Law <Sêng->sung"; "the two Masters of the Law <Tao->têng and <Hui->chi."

<sup>10</sup> 初魏晉沙門依師爲姓。故姓名不同。安以爲大師之本，莫尊釋迦，乃以釋命氏。

This same text is found in and probably quoted from ch. 5 of the *Kao sêng chuan* 高僧傳 (Tao-an's biog.), Taisho 50. 352 c, last line—.

## THE RITE OF *dantadhāvana* IN SMṚTI LITERATURE

GEORGE V. BOBEINSKOY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE RITE of *dantadhāvana* (tooth-cleansing) belongs to the group of *nityakarmāṇi*—that is, actions which must be performed by a *gr̥hastha* (house-dweller) daily. However, there is a long list of days when this rite must be either omitted or performed in a different manner. Such are the first days of the new and full moon respectively, the 6th, 8th, 9th, and 14th days of the lunar fortnight, Sundays, and the days when the Śrāddha sacrifice is performed. In addition to this, on occasion of fasts and marriages and on *saṃkrānti* days the *dantadhāvana* in its usual form must be avoided. In such cases the cleansing of the mouth by rinsing with twelve mouthfuls of water is substituted. Another alternative is the substitution of grass or leaves for the tooth-sticks.<sup>1</sup>

There were two methods of performing the *dantadhāvana*: One consisted in chewing twigs or sticks of certain varieties of trees; the verbs *ad*, *bhakṣ*, and *as* are used in this connection. The other method requires brushing the teeth with a stick or twig.<sup>2</sup> This *dantakaṣṭha* (tooth-stick) must conform to certain regulations; it must be taken from a living tree and still have the bark on. The *Gr̥hyasūtras*, which contain regulations concerning the *dantadhāvana*, prescribe that the sticks must be of the *udumbara* tree (*Ficus glomerata*).<sup>3</sup> The *Dharmasūtras* prohibit the use of the *palāśa* tree (*Butea frondosa*).<sup>4</sup> Both the *Gr̥hya*- and *Dharma*sūtras are very brief in their statements. Later texts have long lists of trees and plants to be used or avoided, as may be the case; but, as far as I know, the *udumbara* tree is always recommended, whereas the use of the *palāśa* is invariably condemned.<sup>5</sup> According to Viṣṇu the *dantakaṣṭha* must be twelve *āṅgulas* long, but other authorities state that it must be ten *āṅgulas* long for the use of Brāhmaṇas, nine for Kṣatriyas, eight for Vāiśyas, and four for Sūdras.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hemādri III. 2, p. 693-4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ViDh. LXI; also SBE. VII, p. 196, and Karmap. I. 10. 2.

<sup>3</sup> ApG. V. 12. 6; PG. II. 6. 17 and others.

<sup>4</sup> ApDh. I. 32. 9; BDh. II. 6. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ViDh. LXI and Narasinha Pu. LVIII. 45-52.

<sup>6</sup> ViDh. LXI. 16; but Madana Parijāta, p. 207, as quoted from Garga.

Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra II. 6. 17 has the following mantra to be used before cleaning teeth: *annādyāya vyūhadhvam somo rājāyam āgamat | sa me mukham pramārksyate yaśasā ca bhagena ca*. This mantra, which occurs with variants elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> is to be recited while cleaning teeth. However, another mantra:

*āyur balaṁ yaśo varcaḥ prajāṁ paśūn vasūni ca  
brahmaprajñām ca medhām ca tvam no dhehi vanaspate*

which occurs Karmapradīpa I. 10. 4, is apparently used more frequently.<sup>8</sup> Both mantras quoted above are to be addressed to the cleaning stick which also must be washed both before and after its use and after completion of the rite must be left in a clean place. It is never to be used a second time.

The Gṛhyasūtras and the Dharmasūtras which I have cited in this paper do not give any explicit directions as to the time of day when the *dantadhāvana* is to be performed. Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra II. 6. 17, however, implies that the teeth must be cleansed after eating—that is, fairly late in the day. Viṣṇu in his chapter on the *dantadhāvana* assigns it a place immediately after the rite of the purification of the body, adding that it must be performed before sunrise and in silence.<sup>9</sup> Virtually all the later texts explicitly state that the teeth must be cleaned immediately after the purification of the body and before the bath. Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi III. 2, p. 694, quotes the following śloka:

*yo mohāt snānvelāyām bhakṣayed dantadhāvanam  
nirāśās tasya gacchanti devatāḥ pitaras tathā*

An anonymous manuscript from Kashmir probably written in the seventeenth century dealing with the daily rites, has the śloka:<sup>10</sup>

*udite tu sahasrāṁśau yaḥ kuryād dantadhāvanam  
savitā bhakṣitas tena pitrvaṁśasya ghātakāḥ*

At the present time the *dantadhāvana* is practiced after the puri-

<sup>7</sup> Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra 2. 20; see also Bloomfield, *Ved. Concordance*.

<sup>8</sup> See Vidyarnava, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. XX, p. 15-16, and Stevensōn, *Rites of the Twice-Born*, p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> ViDh. LXI; but SBE. VII, p. 198, note; also Karmap. I. 10. 5, and YDh. I. 98.

<sup>10</sup> A Śāraḍa manuscript, acquired by Prof. Edgerton in Kashmir in 1926-7. The first part of this MS. deals with daily rites (*dinakṛtyam*). It is the property of the Yale library.

fication of the body and before the bath. It is usually preceded, as also in ancient times, by the *ācamana* (ceremonial sipping of water), which is obligatory before and after all acts of ritual character.<sup>11</sup>

Mention of the *dantadhāvana* is found in at least five Grhya-sūtras, namely, those of Pāraskara, Apastamba, Hiranyakeśin, Bhāradvāja, and the Kāuśika Sūtra. Regulations concerning this rite are found in the Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, Bāudhāyana, Gāutama and Vasiṣṭha. In both Manu and Yājñavalkya there is at least one passage referring to the *dantadhāvana*. It is extensively discussed in Viṣṇu. In the Mahābhārata, namely in the Anuśāsana Parva, there are several *śloka*s dealing with it. The above—not mentioning the Purāṇic material, which is perhaps somewhat less reliable from the chronological point of view—permits us to assume that the rite of *dantadhāvana* was known in India at a very early period indeed, and that comparatively early too it became an inherent part of the daily ritual of the Ārya and of the members of the lower castes.

Such an assumption is still further confirmed by the fact that cleaning of teeth appears as a well known custom in early Pali literature. The words *dantakaṭṭha*, “toothpick”, and *dantapoṇa*, “tooth-cleaner”, occur not infrequently. Interesting in this respect is the passage Anguttara Nikāya III, 250:

“There are five evils, O monks, resulting from the omission of the chewing of the tooth-stick. Which five? It is detrimental to the eyesight; the mouth becomes evil-smelling; the taste-conducting nerves of the tongue are not cleansed; bile, phlegm, and food cover the tongue over; and one’s meal does not please one. These indeed are the five evils of the omission of the chewing of the tooth-stick.

“These are the five benefits, O monks, of the chewing of the tooth-stick. Which five? It is beneficial to the eyesight; the mouth does not become evil-smelling; the taste-conducting nerves of the tongue are purified; bile, phlegm, and food do not cover the tongue over; and one’s meal pleases one. These, O monks, are the five benefits of the chewing of the tooth-stick.”<sup>12</sup>

The Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang, sojourning in India in the seventh century A. D., repeatedly refers to the practice of cleaning

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Vidyarnava, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Vinaya II. 137-138, where the proper length of a *dantakaṭṭha* is discussed.

teeth. Thus, visiting the Pilusara stupa, he describes a grove situated nearby, which according to him dated from a visit of the Buddha to that locality. The Buddha, after cleansing his mouth with a piece of willow branch, planted the stick in the ground, which immediately took root.<sup>13</sup>

In this paper I have confined myself chiefly to the consideration of works which belong to the sūtra, śāstra and purāṇa types, since it is obvious that in the texts of these three groups one must search for information concerning the rites practiced during the earliest historical period by the Āryas in India. Of that large and rather miscellaneous group of Sanskrit ritual literature usually designated as the Dharmanibandhas I have extensively utilized two works, namely, Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi, written probably late in the thirteenth century A. D., and Viśveśvara's Madanapārijāta, belonging to the fourteenth century A. D.<sup>14</sup>

As far as I know, the subject of the daily rites of the Hindus has attracted very little interest on the part of Western scholars. Colebrooke was the first to call attention to this matter in his *Miscellaneous Essays*.<sup>15</sup> He used in this connection an important Dharmanibandha, namely, Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva, which unfortunately I have not been able to consult.

Monier Williams next discussed the daily rites in a paper read before the Fifth International Congress of Orientalists in Berlin in 1881, and published in the proceedings of that body.<sup>16</sup> His treatment of these rites is very brief and aims exclusively at establishing the rôle of the Rig-Veda in the daily worship.

A treatise entitled "The Daily Practice of the Hindus" by Srisa Chandra Vidyarnava, which was published as part of volume 20 of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series is a useful work indeed, but it has distinct limitations as its aim is to serve rather as a practical guide to the ceremonies, and certainly not to give a critical analysis of them.

Mrs. S. Stevenson in her interesting book, *The Rites of the Twice-*

<sup>13</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 68; also cf. the same work, Vol. I, p. 77, Vol. II, p. 173.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 35-36.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. I, pp. 123 ff. For Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva, see Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> *Abhandlungen des fünften Orientalisten Congresses*, Berlin, 1881, Zweite Hälfte, pp. 157 ff.

*Born*, devotes a chapter to the description of the daily rites as they are practiced at the present day.

A LIST OF TEXTS AND PASSAGES CONSULTED IN THIS PAPER.

(Abbreviations in the case of Sanskrit works conform with those used by M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic Concordance*. In the case of Pali texts I have followed the usage of the Pali Text Society Dictionary.)

PG. II, 6, 17, 32; ApG. V, 12, 6; HG. I, 9, 19; 10, 1; Kāuś. 141, 14; Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra, ed. Salomons. 2, 20.

Karmap. I, 10, 1-4;

VaDh. XII, 34; ApDh. I, 8, 5, 22; 32, 9; II, 5, 9. BDh. II, 6, 4. GDh. IX, 44.

MDh. IV, 152; YDh. I, 98; ViDh. LXI;

Mahābh., Bombay 1909. XIII, 161, 24, 40, 47;

Brahma Purāṇa,

Narasinha Purāṇa, Bombay Saka 1833. LVIII, 45-52;

Markand. Purāṇa, transl. Pargiter. XXXIV, 21, 50;

Hemādri, Caturvargacintāmani, Bibl. Indica, III<sub>2</sub>, p. 692-694;

Madana Pārijāta, Bibl. Indica, p. 206-210.

Suśruta Saṁhitā, Bombay 1915, Cikitsasthānam ch. 24.

Pali texts;

A. III, 250; DhA. II, 184; J. I, 232; II, 25; IV, 69; VI, 75;

MiIn. 15; Vin. I, 46; I, 51, 61; II, 138; III, 51; IV, 90, 233; SuA. 272;

VvA. 63.



# IḤDAIDUN WAL-ṚŪLE FOLK-LORE STORY FROM BETHLEHEM

H. HENRY SPOER

NEW YORK CITY

čān limma čān yā sāmā'i l-čalām čān zalami ismu iḥdaidun <sup>1</sup>  
sāčīn fī balad il-ḥarbe illi fiha ṛūle ma' banātha iliṭ <sup>2</sup>-tṇēn sāčēnīn  
fī maṛāra ma' 'andhinn <sup>3</sup> šai illa dist enḥās waḥašīre walāčīn il-  
ṛūle aḥrabat čill il-balad mā ḥallat fiha ḥāda illa iḥdaidun waḥdo  
wamā qidret 'alēh ḥēt inno banna qašr 'ala rās ḡebel 'ālī wa'ando  
balta ḥadīd wamsalle ṭawīle waṛēr ašyā mašnu'a min ḥadīd walā  
byuḥfa in iḡ-ḡānn waḡ-ḡinn waṛēruhum min il-maḥlūqāt in-  
naḡīse biḥāfu min il-ḥadīd walāčīn il-ṛūle 'amlat čill ḡehēdha in  
taqtul iḥdaidun walāčīn hū čān šāṭīr čṭīr wahī mā qidret 'alēh  
wayōm min il-aiyām aḡat il-ṛūle wanādato waqālat, hē yā ibn 'ammi,  
iḥdaidun! wahū ḡāwabha, mā lik yā ḥālti? qālat loh, ḥallīna narūḥ  
wanḥaṭṭīb fil-hiś. wahū ḡāwabha, ṭaiyib bukra balta'i <sup>12</sup> ma'ik fil-hiś.  
waṭāni yōm fiś-ṣubaḥ badri aḥaḍ il-balta wal-emsalle wačīs warāḥ  
ilal-hiś fī ṭarīq qašīre waduṛriye māḥad <sup>4</sup> ilahū bya'rifha walāčīn  
il-ṛūle mā čānat dāriye walā ilha ḥabber inno byūḡad ṭarīq saḥli  
walimma wiṣil ilil-hiś šār iḥdaidun biḥaṭṭīb walimma ḥaṭṭab ičṭīr  
malla čīso ḥaṭab waḥalla maḥall ḥālī fī waṣṭ il-čīs wadaḥal fih  
wasaččar il-čīs 'alēh waba'd šwaiye mā sema' illa hai il-ṛūle ḡāi  
wašārat tšamšim dāyir mā bidūr il-čīs wal-maṭraḥ waqālat, anna <sup>5</sup>  
šāmim riḥat 'uns ḥāda riḥat iḥdaidun walāčīnni manni <sup>5</sup> šāifo  
abšar <sup>6</sup> fēn hū mutahabbi? waba'd mā dauwart 'alēh wamā la'ēto <sup>12</sup>  
qālat, 'amro <sup>7</sup> anna <sup>5</sup> baḥmil čīs il-ḥaṭab 'ala bēti. waḥaṭṭat il-čīs  
'ala ičṭāfah wašārat timši walāčīn iḥdaidun limma šārat timši wal-  
čīs 'ala ḡuhurha <sup>8</sup> wahū fī dāḥil il-čīs aḥaḍ il-emsalle wašār yeṛuzz  
fiha walāčīn hī mā 'arafat inno iḥdaidun bya'mal ya'adḡeb fiha  
lāčīnha muftiččere in il-ḥaṭab 'amal <sup>8b</sup> yeṛuzzha waṛaiyirat ḡamb  
il-čīs 'ala ḡuhurha <sup>8</sup> wašārat timši wāḥdaidun biruzz fiha ṭāni marra  
waṭāliṭ marra wabya'mal fiha kēsa <sup>9</sup> wabya'adḡibha 'adāb il-aqrūd <sup>10</sup>  
wamā wiṣlat illa bāb ilha maṛāra illad-dam byasrub min mīt ḡurḥ  
walimma daḡalt bētha qālūlah banātha, yamma <sup>11</sup> ḡibtīlna iḥdaidun  
mitli mā qulti ḥatta naṭradḡa min laḥmo? qālat, yaḥbibāti mā  
la'ēto <sup>12</sup> walāčīnni ḡibt čīso wahaini bargā' ilil-hiś ta <sup>13</sup> belā'ih <sup>12</sup>  
waqtūlo <sup>13b</sup> waba'd mā qālat ḥaḡāl-čalām mallat id-dist moi waša'alat  
nār taḡto warāḥat ilil-hiś lā'ēto <sup>12</sup> dauwir 'ala iḥdaidun waba'dēma <sup>14</sup>

rāhat sār iḥdaidun wahū fī dāḥil il-čīs bya'mal miṭl waḥad illi fī tummo l-bāni wabiqūl, 'andi l-bāni, 'andi l-bāni! walimma sima'u banāt il-ṛūle qālu, mīn int? qāl, anna<sup>5</sup> iḥdaidun wa'andi l-bāni, qālu, 'aṭīna l-bāni yāḥdaidun, qāl lahinn, iftaḥu lil-čīs, walimma fataḥo ṭil'a min il-čīs waqtaḥinn fil-balta waqta'hinn šakfi šakfi waḥatṭhinn fiddist 'an-nār walāčīn rūshinn ṛaṭṭahinn bil-ḥašīre waḥad il-čīs wal-ḥaṭab wariḡa' ila qašro 'ala rās iḡ-ḡebel.

waba'd ačām sā'a riḡat il-ṛūle ta'abāne waza'alāne ḥēt inha mā lā'at<sup>9</sup> iḥdaidun waḡu'āne walimma daḥlat muṛāratha šammat riḥat iṭ-ṭabīḥ wariḥat iḥdaidun wabitqūl, anna<sup>5</sup> šamim riḥat iḥdaidun wariḥat iṭ-ṭabīḥ, lā budd in banāti, allah byirḡa 'alēhinn, qatalu iḥdaidun waṭabbahu warāḡu lynādu banāt 'ammhinn lil-ṛada waba'd šwaiye qālat, banāti mṭauwālīn wanna<sup>15</sup> ḡu'āne biddi ākul šwoi min iṭ-ṭabīḥ illi fid-dist wa šārat tākul wahī muftiččere inno laḥm iḥdaidun walāčīn il-ḥāl bil-aks wahinn laḥm banātha waba'd ma šib'at lāḥašat inno fī šai taḥt il-ḥašīre walimma raf'at il-ḥašīre lā'at rūš banātha wan<sup>16</sup> ṛammat min iz-za'al wašārat tākul min laḥm draḥa<sup>17</sup> watqūl, lā<sup>18</sup> yāḥdaidun ent 'amalt fī ḥēk allāh byin'alak yāḥdaidun ṛēr byasudd ṭāri minnak.

waba'd ačām yōm čān 'urs fī dār 'amm iḥdaidun wun'azam iḥdaidun ilil-'urs farāḥ ilil-'urs walāčīnno aḥad il-balta ma'o ḥēt inno 'aref in il-ṛūle biddha tintaḡim minno walimma daḥal ila bēt 'ammo sār yeṭalla' ṭaiyib 'ala čill waḥad illi aḡa ilil-'urs waba'd mudde šāf čelbe čbīre muḡtaribe ilil-bēt wal-čilāb il-uḡar biḡāfu minha fa'arref in ḥāde hil-ṛūle biddha tiṣṭād ṭārha minno waba'd šwoi ḡābu ačel ṭabbīḥ laḥm waṛuzz lil-ma'azumīn wāḥdaidun aḥad šakfet laḥm fiha 'aḡm biido l-aiman<sup>19</sup> wabalṭa warra ḡahro<sup>8</sup> biido šemāl wašār yenādi lil-čilāb kuš kuš walimma sima'at il-ṛūle wahī biḡiyat čelbe račad ilēh walāčīnno wahī lissātha ba'ide qabl ma wišlat la'ando ramma l-'aḡm waḡarabha bēn 'ainēha<sup>20</sup> waḡerāḡa<sup>21</sup> wašārat tasīl id-dam wabitnaqqet min ḡibīnha 'ala šiffetha fašārat tilḡas id-dam bil-lisānha wabitqūl, mā aḡla dībs 'ammi waḡālāh<sup>22</sup> iḥdaidun wahū biwarriḡa l-balta biido, anna<sup>5</sup> manni<sup>5</sup> ḡāif minki anna<sup>5</sup> illi 'amalt fik kēsa<sup>9</sup> wakēsa<sup>9</sup> anna<sup>5</sup> kunt fil-čīs illi ḡammalti baṛuzzek fil-emsalle wanti btiftiččere inno ḡaṭabe wanna qatalt banātik waṭamtik laḥmhinn winšallah baqtūlik<sup>13b</sup> inti walimma sim'at il-ṛūle čalām iḥdaidun inḡahirat waharbat waḡālat fī nafsaha čēf biddi a'amal ta<sup>13</sup> bastaṭāri min iḥdaidun?

waba'd ačām yōm ṛaiyirat šūratha waḡat lil-wād illi biqurb qašr iḥdaidun wašārat tenādi watqūl, yāḥdaidun yā ibn 'ammi! waḡālāh,<sup>22</sup>

ma' lik? qālat loh, iqridni munḥulak, qālah,<sup>22</sup> ta'āli waḥuḍi ḡāwabto, mā baqdar itla' illa rās il-'irāq ḥēt inni 'aḡūze, qālah,<sup>22</sup> anna <sup>5</sup> barmi lēk ḥabl, warama laha ḥabl walimma timassaḥat bil-ḥabl šārat titla' bil-aḡāle wabiḥill sehūle wata'aḡḡib iḥdaidun limma šāf in il-'aḡūze ta'āla bis-sehūle walāčin limma iqtarabat ilēh 'arefha inha hī l-rūle wadaššir il-ḥabl min īdo wawiq'at il-rūle min rās iṣ-ṣaḥra wan <sup>16</sup> qutilat wamātet tū tū tū ḥalsat il-ḥadūt.\*

\* I am indebted to the Rev. Canon J. E. Hanauer for this story.

<sup>1</sup> Diminutive of *ḥaddād*. <sup>2</sup> *ilīl-* for *il-*. <sup>3</sup> In Jerusalem the pron. suff. of the 3rd pers. masc. is generally used for both genders. <sup>4</sup> For *mā aḥād*. <sup>5</sup> For *mā anna*; *anna* for *ana*. <sup>6</sup> *abšar* expresses doubt or uncertainty, e. g. if a servant is in doubt whether his master is at home, he will say to the questioner *abšar*. <sup>7</sup> 'amro i. e. *yiqta* 'amro. <sup>8</sup> For *ṣuḥur*. <sup>9b</sup> Cf. Spoeer and Haddad, *Manual of Pal. Arabic* § 198. <sup>9</sup> For *kaḏa*. <sup>10</sup> For *qarūd*. <sup>11</sup> For *yā 'umma*. <sup>12</sup> *la'ēto* from *ṽlaqa*. <sup>13</sup> For *ḥatta*. <sup>13b</sup> A pron. suffix frequently lengthens the vowel of the preceding syllable, while a consonant, following directly upon a final long vowel, shortens it, e. g. in the contraction *fil* = *fi* + article. <sup>14</sup> For *ba'd inna mā*. <sup>15</sup> For *wa anna*; cf. 5. <sup>16</sup> For *wa inna*. <sup>17</sup> For *dra'ha*. <sup>18</sup> An expletive. <sup>19</sup> For *yamin*. <sup>20</sup> *Bēn 'ainēn* is also an amulet, worn between the eyes. <sup>21</sup> For *ḡerāḥha*. <sup>22</sup> For *qāl laha*.

### *Ihdaidun and the Ghoul*<sup>1</sup>

There was once, O my hearers of the word, a man named Ihdaidun, who lived in a devastated district in which dwelt a ghoul with her two daughters in a cave. They possessed nothing but a copper kettle and a straw mat. The ghoul, however, had destroyed all the country, leaving none in it except Ihdaidun, for she was not able to do anything against him, because he had built himself a castle on a high mountain top, and because he possessed a hatchet and a long harness-maker needle and had made himself other things of iron. And it is no secret that *ḡānn*<sup>2</sup> and *ḡinn* and others of the impure kind are afraid of iron. But the ghoul made every effort to kill Ihdaidun. He, however, was very clever, and she was not able to prevail against him.

On a certain day the ghoul came, called out to him, and said:

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "The little Smith and the female Ghoul."

<sup>2</sup> The narrator evidently makes a distinction between *ḡānn* and *ḡinn*; cf. Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 462 c; D. B. Macdonald, article on *Djinn* in the *Encycl. of Islām*.

"Hê! O son of my paternal uncle, Ihdaidun!" And he answered her: "What ails thee, my aunt?" She said to him: "Let us go and cut wood in the forest." He said: "Good, to-morrow I shall meet thee in the forest." On the following day, early in the morning, he took the hatchet and the harness-maker needle and a sack and went to the forest by a short and straight road, which was not known to any one but himself. And the ghou! did not know it, nor had she any information that there existed an easy road.

And when he arrived at the forest, Ihdaidun began to cut wood, and when he had cut much he filled his sack with it. But he left an open space in the midst of the sack, entered into it and closed the sack over himself. After some time, he had not heard anything, when, lo! the ghou! came. She began to sniff round about the sack and the place, saying: "I sniff the smell of a human being. It is the smell of Ihdaidun, but I do not see him at all. Where may he be hidden?" After she had sought for him round about and had not found him, she said: "May he perish! I shall carry the sack of wood home." She then put the sack upon her shoulders and began to walk. But Ihdaidun, when she began to walk with the sack upon her back, he being inside the sack, took the needle and began to prick her with it. But she did not know that it was Ihdaidun who continually tormented her, for she thought that the wood was pricking her, and she changed the side of the sack upon her back and began to walk again. But Ihdaidun pricked her a second time and a third time and continued in this manner, and tormented her with the torment of the demons. And before she reached the door of her cave, her blood flowed from a thousand wounds. When she entered her home, her daughters said to her: "O mother, hast thou brought us Ihdaidun, as thou hast told us, so that we may breakfast of his flesh?" She said: "O my darlings, I have not found him, but I have brought his sack. Here it is! I shall return to the forest that I may seek him and kill him." After she had uttered these words, she filled the cauldron with water and lit a fire under it, and went to the forest seeking everywhere for Ihdaidun.

After she had gone, Ihdaidun, who was in the sack, acted like one who has *bāni*<sup>3</sup> in his mouth and said: "I have *bāni*! I have *bāni*!" and when the daughters of the ghou! heard it, they said: "Who

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<sup>3</sup> A kind of mastic.

art thou?" He said: "I am Ihdaidun, and I have *bāni*." They said: "O Ihdaidun, give us *bāni*." He said to them: "Open the sack for me". And when they had opened it, he came out and killed them with the hatchet and cut them into little pieces and put them into the cauldron upon the fire. But their heads he covered with the straw mat, and he took the sack and the wood and returned to his castle upon the mountain top.

Some hours later the ghou! returned, tired and angry, because she had not found Ihdaidun, and she was hungry. When she entered her cave she smelt the odor of cooking and the odor of Ihdaidun and said: "I smell the smell of Ihdaidun and the smell of cooking. Without doubt my daughters, may Allah be well pleased with them, have killed and cooked Ihdaidun and have gone to invite their cousins to the meal." After a time she said: "My daughters delay, and I am hungry, I will eat a little of the food which is in the cauldron." Then she began to eat, thinking that it was the flesh of Ihdaidun, while really, on the contrary, it was the flesh of her daughters. After she had satisfied her appetite, she observed that there was something under the straw mat, and, when she lifted it, she found the heads of her daughters. And she fainted from wrath and began to bite the flesh of her arm, saying: "By God, O Ihdaidun, thou hast done thus, may God curse thee, O Ihdaidun, I shall not stop till I have taken my blood-vengeance upon thee."

After some days there was in the encampment of the paternal uncle of Ihdaidun a wedding to which Ihdaidun was invited. He went to the wedding, but took his hatchet with him, since he knew that the ghou! wished to avenge herself upon him. When he had entered the house of his uncle, he looked carefully at every one who came to the wedding. After a little while he saw a large bitch drawing near to the house, but the other dogs were afraid of her. Then he knew by this that she was the ghou! who wished to take vengeance upon him. After a little, cooked food, meat and rice, was brought for those who had been invited. Ihdaidun took a piece of meat with a bone in it into his right hand, and behind his back in his left hand the hatchet, and began to call out to the dogs: "kush! kush!" And when the ghou!, who was in the form of a bitch, heard it, she ran toward him. She was still far away, and before she reached him he threw the bone and hit her between the

eyes<sup>4</sup> and wounded her. And the blood began to run from her forehead upon her lip, and she began to lick the blood with her tongue, saying: "How sweet is the grape-honey of my paternal uncle." And Ihdaidun said to her, showing her the hatchet in his hand: "I am certainly not afraid of thee. It is I who did to thee such and such things; I was in the sack which thou didst carry away; I pricked thee with the needle and thou thoughtest that it was a piece of wood; and I did kill thy daughters; and I fed thee with their flesh; and, God willing, I shall kill thee." When the ghoul heard the saying of Ihdaidun, she was completely overcome and fled and said to herself: "What must I do to take blood-vengeance on Ihdaidun?"

After a few days she changed her appearance and went to the valley which is in the neighborhood of Ihdaidun's castle. And she began to call out and say: "O Ihdaidun, O son of my paternal uncle!" And he said to her: "What ails thee?" She said to him: "Lend me thy fine sieve." He said to her: "Come up and take it." She answered him: "I am not able to ascend the mountain cliff, because I am an old woman." He said to her: "I will throw down for thee a rope." And he did so. But when she had taken hold of the rope, she began to ascend quickly and with great ease. And Ihdaidun wondered when he saw that the old woman ascended with such ease, but when she came near him he knew that it was ghoul, and he let slip the rope from his hand, and the ghoul fell from the rocky height and was killed and died. Tu, tu, tu, the story is ended.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 19 to the Arabic text.

## THE RELATION OF CERTAIN GODS TO EQUITY AND JUSTICE IN EARLY BABYLONIA

IRA M. PRICE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DAILY LIFE of the Sumerians in Early Babylonia was regarded as in constant touch with some divinity or divinities. The gods regulated their every day activities, adjusted their difficulties, relieved their distresses, and fixed their destinies. These divine supervisory benefactions were reciprocated on the part of the people by numerous and abundant offerings to each several divinity, often in temples of resplendent proportions and befitting appointments.

The Sumerian pantheon was conceived of as having surveillance of all the accidents and contingencies of economic, social, and religious life. There were gods of agriculture, of weather, of storms, of battle, of sickness, of evil, and of goodwill and justice. And each one of these made certain requirements of its devotees and worshippers. And these claims and charges gradually increased in number and in their exactions until they became bodies of rules that today form some of the most interesting and instructive literature from that ancient time. But of all the manifold regulations for the daily lives and conduct of the people we are especially concerned at this time with those that touched the equitable adjustment of differences and difficulties, and especially with the gods and their deputies who administered those rules and laws.

Each district or city-state had its own god or gods, and in the course of long development the specific deity whose task it became to adjust contests and clashes of interest, was credited with being a promoter of equity and justice. Within the realm of his or her authority, regulations made operative were designated as laws.

Now of all the many Sumerian gods a few only were specifically designated in any large sense as gods of equity and justice. Lack of time and space bars anything more than merely a cursory recital of their judicial character, and the claims made for their usefulness and popularity in the courts of that early day.

The oldest laws from early Sumerian times are credited to Nisaba, the goddess of writing, and to Hani, her husband (Jean, *Milieu bibl.*, II, 46). These laws are said to have been inspired if not

dictated by the goddess Nisaba (Clay, *Misc. Inscript.*, Colophon to No. 28), and by the god Ħani. Nisaba was one of the Sumerian pantheon of Lagash, and a sister of Ningirsu, god of Lagash, and of Nanše. In later Sumerian times those laws are called the laws of Nisaba and of Ħani. In the Third dynasty of Ur oblations are twice made to Ħani (Genouillac, *Drehem*, 5482, Rev. I; 5514, Rev.). In that same period Ħani's name was so revered that we find these two proper names: Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ħani and Lu-<sup>d</sup>Ħani. Two later texts call him "lord of the seal" (Reisner, *Hymnen*, 50, 8), and "god of the scribes" (*Šurpu* II, 175).

Another early divinity honored at Suruppak and Kish in the early Sumerian epoch and reaching down to Gudea was Gu-silim (or, <sup>d</sup>KA-DI), whose name means "speak just things".

In Gudea (Cyl. A 10, 24-26) we find: "in the temple *E-babbar*, place of my oracles, my place brilliant as the sun, this place, like the goddess Gu-silim, shall regulate the justice of my city". In the seventh year of king Dungi (Šulgi) of Ur, Gu-silim of Dêr was inducted into his temple. We find also that a *sanga*—priest—of Gu-silim at Drehem was called *I-zu a-ri-ik* (Genouil, *Drehem* 5499, Rev. III, 8); and several anonymous *išib*—magicians—of Gu-silim (Jean, *Relig. Sumér.* p. 96) are mentioned.

The reverence for the name of this goddess is seen in the number of proper names of which it forms a part: Ur-<sup>d</sup>Gu-silim, Lugal-<sup>d</sup>Gu-silim, Gim-<sup>d</sup>Gu-silim, and many others.

In the early Sumerian epoch Entemena patesi of Lagash speaks of right, law, and justice; says that he conforms to the equity—*inim-si-sa*—of the gods, Enlil and Ningirsu, and of the goddess Nanše (Cone V, 6-8).

In that same period, galling injustices, heartless extortions were perpetrated on the innocent and weak, even in the name of the gods themselves and the temple officials (Deimel, *Orientalia*, 1920, Cones B and C of Urukagina). These were vigorously dealt with by Urukagina on the basis of *inim-si-sa*—equity—as previously determined by Ningirsu and Nanše.

Indeed, the form *si-sa* (= *mešari*) became the name of a god of justice at Lagash. As such it is found in proper names as: <sup>d</sup>*Si-sa-kalam-ma*; Ur-<sup>d</sup>*Si-sa*; <sup>d</sup>*Babbar-dSi-sa*; <sup>d</sup>*Nannar-dSi-sa*; *Dun-gi-dSi-sa*, and many more.

The great reign and inscriptions of Gudea present us ample



evidence of the prevalence of justice and its administration in the later Sumerian epoch. Gudea's counsellor was Lugal-si-sa (Cyl. B, 8, 20-21) to whom he made oblations. Gudea says (Stat. B, 7, 38-41): "By the decrees of Nanše and Ningirsu, I directed affairs." The scepter of Gudea was received from Ningirsu (Stat. D, IV, 5, 6) and it was a scepter of justice. He appointed to a place on his staff Šakan-šabar, a minister of the god Ningirsu that he might bind together words conformable to equity—*inim-si-sa*; and Gudea avers that he himself was a "man of equity"—*lu-si-sa* (Stat. D, 2, 4).

In the royal building complex were provided all required facilities for the administration of justice. In the temple E-ninnu at Lagash there was the *šugalam* (Cyl. A, 8, 6; 26, 1), a place of judgment, provided with ample offerings. The *girnun*, place of judgment (Cyl. A, 22, 22), was probably a chapel in the temple, used for holding court.

But for the later Sumerian period, and down into the Semitic area, the god of justice *par excellence* was the sun-god Uta (Utu), Shamash whose chief headquarters were at Larsa (modern *Senkereh*) and at Sippar (modern *Abu-Habba*). A paragraph in the Gudea texts gives us a hint at what, in after times, became his outstanding function, namely, as judge. In Cylinder B we find these lines (18, 10, 11): "Uta caused all just things to shine forth, the wicked Uta trampled under foot."

Ur-Nammu king of Ur prides himself on having ordered his reign "justly according to equitable laws (*sa-nig-gi*), the judgments of Uta." Dungi the king, the shepherd of Ur, received on his lips "truth and justice" from the same god (BE XXI, pl. IV and V, Rev. col. I, 4).

Out of the inscriptions excavated at Ur (Gadd and Legrain, *Texts*) I glean a few items bearing on our point. Bur-Sin, king of Ur, built *dub-lal-mah*, "great collection of tablets"—archives of the courts—"the place of his judgments" (No. 71, 9, 19-26). Gimil-ilishu, king of Ur, built *dub-lal-mah* "his place of judgment" (No. 100, 5, 12-14). "When justice he had established . . . in Ur," said of Libit-<sup>d</sup>Ishtar, king of Ur (No. 106, Col. II, 24). <sup>d</sup>Sin-idinnam calls himself "shepherd of justice" (No. 120, 4 f. Same in No. 128 : 12). "Ninsianna . . . pure and exalted judge" (No. 140, 1, 10). "May Uta the great judge (*daiānu rabū*),

[Adad] the exalted judge (*da-a-a-nu ši-[i-ru]*)"—(No. 165, 27, 28. ". . . year when Libit-Ishtar had established justice in Sumer and Akkad" (Nos. 223 and 295).

These excerpts reveal that the chief kings of Ur ordered their reigns according to the principles of justice, and that Uta was the great judge in their courts.

Now when we pass on into the First Babylonian dynasty, and especially into the large claims of Hammurabi we have a very definite and specific picture. In the prologue to his Code of Laws, he says (24 ff.): "Anu and Bel called me, Hammurabi, . . . to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to go forth like the sun over the blackheaded race, to enlighten the land and to further the welfare of the people." "Who made justice to prevail, and who ruled the race with right" (IV. 53 ff.). "I established law and justice in the land, and promoted the welfare of the people" (V. 20 f.).

In his epilogue Hammurabi says (Col. XL. 84): "By the command of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, may I make justice to shine forth in the land"! "Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, whom Shamash has endowed with justice am I" (XLI, 95). "May Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth who rules all living creatures, the lord (inspiring) confidence . . . may he not grant him (the despoiler of my inscriptions) his rights" (XLIII, 14 f.)!

Hammurabi seems to have placed Shamash on the pinnacle of justice—as the dispenser and promoter of the same. Next to Shamash stood Adad, both of whom are mentioned on a *kudurru* stone (B. A. II, 201-2, Col. V, 48-VI, 220) as being "divine judges." Shamash is named as judge of heaven and earth and Adad as ruler of heaven and earth. Shamash is said to have rendered his decisions on the ground of unvarying principles of equity, for both the just and the unjust.

When we step down into Assyrian times Tiglathpileser I called Shamash the judge of heaven and earth, who sees the evil of the king, and for this will destroy him.

In gathering up the items of this paper, we note:

- 1) That the Sumerians credited their laws to the wisdom of

Nisaba and Hani, that their influence reached down near the close of the Sumerian period.

- 2) That Gu-silim, Si-sa, Ningirsu, and Nanše were gods and goddesses active before and during the Gudea period in the interests of justice and equity among the peoples of the land.
- 3) That the rulers in each period and in each city were ex-officio the administrators of justice through the courts at the doors and within the temples of their realms.
- 4) That in the later Sumerian period we have the first striking activity of the sun-god (Uta, Shamash) in the interests of equity and justice, and that thereafter his power and influence gave him first place in the pantheon of justice in Early Babylonia.

I can close this brief treatment with no more fitting words than a few lines from the Hymn to Shamash in IV R 28, No. 1:

Law for the crowds of men thou administerest,  
Eternally right in heaven art thou,  
Equitable wisdom of the lands art thou,  
What right is, thou knowest, what wrong is, thou knowest.  
Shamash honors the head of the just,  
Shamash tears asunder the wicked like a piece of leather.  
Shamash! The support of Anu and Bel art thou.  
Shamash! Exalted judge of heaven and earth art thou.  
O Shamash! The exalted judge, the great lord of lands art thou,  
Lord of created things, compassionate on the lands art thou,  
O Shamash! Judge of the world, Leader of their decisions, art thou.

## BRIEF NOTES

*Two unlisted Chüan of the Yung lo ta tien 永樂大典.*

What appears to be an unlisted volume of the above compilation was recently placed in the hands of the writer for the purpose of exhibition in the University of California Library and as it might be of interest to sinologists and bibliophiles the following details are given.

The volume contains *chüan* 14,055 and 14,056 of the set recopied in the year 1567 of the Chia Ching era. The subject matter consists of 45 *Chi Wên* 祭文 or Funeral Orations quoted from collections of belles-lettres. These have been arranged under the rhyme *chi* 霽, the 4th of the 23 rhymes of the *ch'ü shêng* or 3rd tone, and fall into group No. 17.

Physically the volume possesses all the characteristics of those examined in the Library of Congress and is in a good state of preservation, with the exception of the yellow silk binding which shows signs of wear. *Chüan* 14,055 has 18 folios, and *chüan* 14,056 consists of 17 folios. The partial flyleaf at the end of the volume contains the following 6 names of persons concerned in the making of this copy:

- (1) Ch'in Ming-lei 秦鳴雷, a Vice-President of a Governing-Board, Chief Proof-reader of the *chung lu* 重錄 or recopied set.
- (2) Wang Ta-jên 王大任, a Sub-Chancellor of the Grand Secretariat, Associate Proof-reader.
- (3) Sun T'ing 孫錠, a Han Lin Compiler, Associate Proof-reader.
- (4) Wang I-feng 王一鳳, a Literatus, Calligraphist.
- (5) Lin Min-piao 林民表, a Student of the Imperial Academy of Learning, Punctuator.
- (6) Tung Yü-han 董于翰, Punctuator.

A printed form pasted inside the front cover and dated Ch'ien Lung 38th year (1773), 8th month, 7th day, contains a Mr. Lin's 林 name as Compiler, a Mr. Huang's 黃 name as Copyist, and 16 titles of works to be recreated and incorporated into the *Ssu*

*k'u ch'üan shu* by Chu Yün 朱筠 and his associates. An examination of the Imperial Catalogue shows that of these, 14 were actually completed and made a part of Ch'ien Lung's famous collection.

We are presuming ours to be newly discovered because it is not among the 286 surviving volumes in Yüan T'ung-li's 袁同龢 list (in Chinese) in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Library*, Pei-p'ing, China, (vol. 2, nos. 3-4, March-April, 1929); therefore any information concerning its listing elsewhere will be gladly received.

If the report of the total loss of the Commercial Press and its library is verified, the following 33 *chüan* in 21 volumes listed in their name must be subtracted from Yüan T'ung-li's total of 542 *chüan* in 286 volumes, and be regarded as lost to the world.

<i>Chüan</i>	2275	in 1 vol.
"	2276	" " "
"	2535-36	" " "
"	2539-40	" " "
"	3525-26	" " "
"	6558-59	" " "
"	7325	" " "
"	7326	" " "
"	7506	" " "
"	7510	" " "
"	7513-14	" " "
"	8020	" " "
"	11127-28	" " "
"	11129-30	" " "
"	11131-32	" " "
"	11133-34	" " "
"	11620	" " "
"	14384	" " "
"	15140-41	" " "
"	21983-84	" " "
"	22749-50	" " "

This volume of the *Yung lo ta tien*, together with three beautifully bound manuscript volumes of the edicts and proclamations of Emperor Shun Chih 1644-61; a collection of 105 paintings of

events and legends concerning Confucius reproduced in 1923 by unnamed artisans employed by the former President Ts'ao K'un; and a folding volume of beautiful original paintings of famous Chinese heroines done in Paris, France, by Yao Ching-su 姚景蘇 daughter of Yao Ping-jan 姚丙然, have been kindly loaned for the exhibit by Mr. John Gilbert Reid.

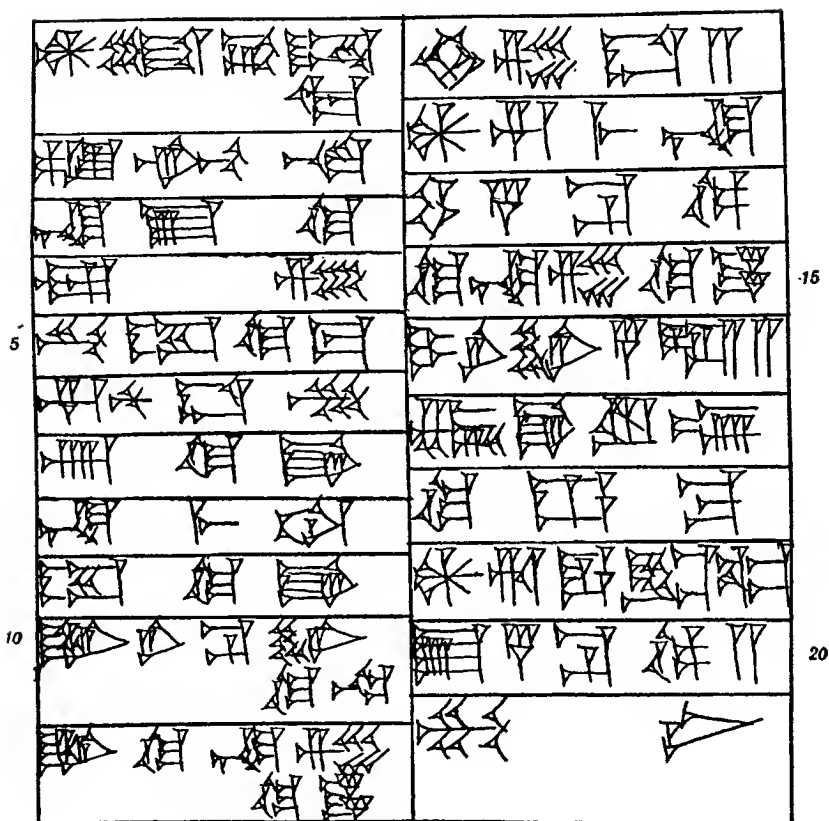
M. J. HAGERTY.

University of California.

NOTE.—A letter from Mr. T. L. Yüan dated April 26, 1932, refers to the destruction of the buildings of the Commercial Press during the recent struggle and concludes, "Fortunately, the 21 volumes of the Ta Tien in its (the Commercial Press) possession have been deposited in a bank, and so they did not share the same tragic fate as the other treasures of that library."

*A Newly Discovered Inscription of Libit-Ishtar.*

YBC 2190



AN ADDITIONAL fact about the reign of Libit-Ishtar is brought to light in a recently acquired votive cone in the Yale Babylonian Collection. There was already evidence that this king, the fifth of the dynasty of Isin, controlled a considerable extent of territory in southern Babylonia. In addition to Isin, his city of royalty, his inscriptions indicate that he claimed special authority in the cities of Nippur, Ur, Eridu, and Erech. From this new inscription it appears that the king had also extended his authority to the

ancient city of Bad-tibira. This inference is based on the statement of the inscription that the king built a "house of righteousness in Namgarum, the fortress of the gods."

Namgarum may be considered a Semitized version of the name of the place called in Sumerian Bad-tibira. The ideogram for Bad-tibira in Sumerian is Bād-urudu-nagar-ki. In shortened form the name may also be written Nagar-ki, or simply Nagar without the determinative.<sup>1</sup> The Sumerian Nagar is rendered in Semitic, *nangaru* (S<sup>a</sup> 4, 4), of which *Namgaru* is, of course, only a variant spelling. The word *Namgaru* has not been found elsewhere as a name for Bad-tibira, which is usually called *Dûrgurgurri* in Semitic. The identification here proposed seems confirmed, however, by the phrase which follows, "that fortress of the gods."

That a Semitic influence should occur in this Sumerian inscription is not surprising in view of the fact that Libit-Ishtar's dynasty was essentially Semitic. One of his inscriptions is written entirely in Semitic.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is not absolutely necessary to assume that Namgarum is Semitic. It is similar in form to the place names, Simanum, Simurum, Shashrum, and Urbillum, in the texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

Bad-tibira, or, as here called, Namgarum was one of the oldest of Babylonian cities. It is located by Hommel<sup>3</sup> at the present Tell Šifr, not far east of Larsa. A later king of Larsa, Sin-iddinam, also tells us that he built Bad-tibira. If Libit-Ishtar built the "house of righteousness" in this city it indicates that, at that time, it was not yet in the possession of Larsa, and that Larsa, the rival of Isin, was, in the reign of Libit-Ishtar, entirely secondary. Although Libit-Ishtar carefully refrains from any claim over Larsa, he evidently controlled points on all sides of Larsa.

Transliteration	Translation
dLi-bi-it-Ištar	Libit-Ishtar,
sīb búr-na	the humble shepherd
En-líl <sup>ki</sup>	of Nippur
engar zi	the faithful husbandman

<sup>1</sup> See Fritz Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, p. 1020.

<sup>2</sup> See C. J. Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, Pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, p. 358.



5. Uri <sup>ki</sup> -ma	of Ur,
mùš nu-túm-mu	the one who does not forsake
Nun <sup>ki</sup> -ga	Eridu,
en me-te	the lord, the adornment
Unu <sup>ki</sup> -ga	of Erech,
10. lugal I-si-in <sup>ki</sup> -na	the king of Isin,
lugal Ki-en-gi Ki-uri	the king of Sumer and Akkad,
šà-gi túm-a	the desire of the heart
<sup>d</sup> Ininni me-en	of Ininni am I.
ud nig-si-sá	When righteousness
15. Ki-en-gi Ki-uri	in Sumer and Akkad
i-ni-in-gar-ra-a <sup>4</sup>	I had established,
Nam-ga-ru-um	in Namgarum,
bad <sub>4</sub> -ba	that fortress
dingir-ri-e-ne-ka	of the gods,
20. é nig-si-sá-a	the house of righteousness
mu-dù	I built

## ANNOTATIONS

Line 6. Literally, "The one who does not take away the face." It is given in the Semitic version as *la mu-pa-ar-ki-um*. See Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 33.

Line 12. šà-gi túm-a equals *bibil libbi*; see Gadd, *ibid*.

Lines 14-16. The date formula for the second year of Hammurabi is "The year he established (in-gar-ra) righteousness (nig-si-sá) in his land." This was interpreted by King in his *History of Babylon* as indicating that Hammurabi instituted certain administrative reforms at the beginning of his reign, which culminated later in the promulgation of his code of laws. It is interesting to note that Libit-Ishtar, in our inscription as well as those hitherto published, uses this same phraseology of himself. It is known that Libit-Ishtar also published a law code closely related to that of Hammurabi. See *Babylonica* 9, 19 ff., and Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 173. It therefore seems fair

<sup>4</sup> This line corresponds with that read twice, on p. 306 of G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, as *dumu-ni in-gar-ra*. In both cases the sign involved is clearly i, and not *dumu*. There is, therefore, no evidence that Libit-Ishtar had a son named Ingarra.

to conclude that this phrase was used by both kings in the same sense.

Lines 17 ff. The following alternative translation may be suggested: "I, the carpenter, built the glorious place of the gods, the house of righteousness." This involves rendering *nam-ga-ru-um* by its usual translation, "carpenter." Line 18 would be read *ki rib-ba*; cf. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon* 322, 34. It is not impossible that Libit-Ishtar, who referred to his kingly functions by the figure of such lowly occupations as "shepherd" and "farmer" (lines 2, 4), might also have called himself a carpenter, as the builder of the house of the gods. As against this translation, however, it may be argued that the titles "shepherd" and "farmer" are quite usual in the royal inscriptions, while "carpenter" is unknown in such a context. Moreover, according to this translation, no definite location for the building called the "house of righteousness" is given.

FERRIS J. STEPHENS.

Yale University.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts.* By  
EMILE BENVENISTE. Paris: LIBRAIRIE PAUL GEUTHNER,  
1929. Pp. 119. Price 20 fr.

The present volume is a translation of the four lectures with which M. Benveniste, Director d'Etudes at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, inaugurated in 1926 the series of lectures on Zoroastrianism established at the University of Paris by Dr. Nanabhai Navroji Katrak of Bombay. Although still a young man—he received his call to Paris before he was thirty—M. Benveniste has already done considerable research in Indo-Iranian philology and bids fair to become an outstanding scholar in that field.

In his opening chapter, the author admits that the Greek sources have already been exhaustively studied and interpreted, yet he feels that there is a need to study them from a new angle, because (pp. 13-14), "The evidence of the ancients has always been examined as a whole, as if it belonged to the same period and relied on the same sources. . . . The only way of reaching a definite reality from these ancient texts is to examine them *individually*, and compare them with the Iranian texts." He stresses the importance of distinguishing between the teachings of the Gāthās and those of the Later Avesta, for (p. 13) "It is . . . unlawful to speak of *one* Iranian religion or even of *one* Persian religion." The statements of each Greek author must be considered independently and must be compared with the internal evidence of the Avestan and Old Persian texts, with due regard to chronological differences.

The thesis of the second chapter is that the statements of Herodotus about the religious customs of the Persians describe neither the Zoroastrian nor the Later Avestan religion, but the religion of the Achæmenian kings, and only such of its elements as had been inherited from the nature religion of the Indo-Iranian period. These elements, surviving the Zoroastrian reform, had, by Herodotus' time, again assumed an important place in Persian thought. Of the Achæmenian religion the author says (p. 49): "Differing from the religion of the Magi and that of Zoroaster at the same

time, it is in harmony with Mazdeism only to the extent to which the latter has retained, in spite of the reform, traces of naturalistic beliefs and practices."

Coming to Strabo's contribution, M. Benveniste finds that his knowledge of Persian religion was derived partly from a study of Herodotus, partly from personal observations made in Cappadocia. The statements of Herodotus had become a conventional tradition by this time and are to be discounted. "The Persian religion of Cappadocia was a kind of evolved Mazdeism in which no more trace of Zoroastrianism is to be discerned. Of the ancient ritual the cult of fire is retained, but mingled with semitic (*sic*) practices. Of the pantheon, only popular divinities have survived, but the forms of their cult, like their feasts, recall Asia Minor rather than Persia. This removed form of Mazdeism is as far from the primitive religion known by Herodotus as from essentially Avestic Mazdeism" (p. 68).

By far the longest lecture of the four is that devoted to the evidence of Plutarch, some of which is based on Theopompus, some, perhaps, on Eudemus. M. Benveniste concludes that Plutarch's account of the Persian religion is (p. 113) "an authentic and ancient exposition of Zervanism, a strict dualism of pre-Zoroastrian origin which largely influenced the Later Avesta. It is to Zervanism that later Mazdeism owes its dualistic teaching, and although Zoroaster taught the triumph of good over evil, there is a hint of Zervanistic influence in Yasna 30.3. The reviewer will take occasion to discuss this statement later on.

The results of M. Benveniste's researches in the Greek texts may best be summed up by quoting from his concluding chapter (pp. 118-9): "The person of Zoroaster and the teaching of the Magi exercised over Greek ideas an influence which was real, though difficult to measure. . . . But it does not follow that the Greeks knew a *single* form of Persian religion. The method which we have adopted has brought out the differences between the ancient nature religion which gradually evolved and which is described by Herodotus; the degenerate Mazdeism which Strabo observed; and the Zervanism which Plutarch knew through Theopompus and perhaps through Eudemus, each of these religions belonging to a different period and perhaps to a different region. Neither Greeks, Syrians, nor Armenians knew anything of the Avestic

Zoroaster nor of his teachings as expressed in the Gāthās. . . . In all probability Zoroastrianism was in the beginning only a local movement, limited to a region of Eastern Iran not yet defined; it met with powerful opposition from the established beliefs, and remained a long time without gaining a real hold. As it spread it changed. It became mingled with the cults which it had attempted to replace and it is in a very different form that Mazdeism reached Western Iran."

To one or two of M. Benveniste's statements the reviewer would append a modest question-mark. One of the arguments adduced to prove the non-Zoroastrian nature of the Achæmenian religion is that of vocabulary. On page 44 occurs the remark: "The Persian word for 'god', *baga*, is unknown in the Avesta." Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 921, cites for the Later Avesta three certain occurrences of this word with the stem-form *baya-*. Does not M. Benveniste mean to say here "the Gāthās" rather than "the Avesta"? On page 45, in connection with the Zoroastrian distinction between the ahuric and the demonic vocabularies, the author says: ". . . *pat* 'to fall' is used in the Avesta to describe the reeling gait of the demons and *us-pat* of their birth; in Old Persian *ud-pat* means but 'to part from'." As a matter of fact, the Avesta does not use the root *pat-* for demonic beings exclusively, as this sentence would seem to imply, for in Yasna, 44.4 the compound infinitive *ava-pastōiš* is used of earth and sky. In his discussion of Plutarch's evidence, M. Benveniste says (p. 77): "A passage from the Gāthās mentions already the kinship between 'the twins' and 'Boundless Time'." He cites in confirmation the translation of Yasna 30.3 in Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*. This verse reads: "Now the two primal Spirits, who revealed themselves in vision as Twins, are the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise once chose aright, the foolish not so." There is no allusion in this stanza, nor in the whole yasna, to "Boundless Time". Furthermore, without wishing to split hairs, the reviewer would point out that the so-called "twins" are designated as "the better" and "the bad", i. e., *vahyō akemčā*, clearly implying a difference in rank. There is no mention at all in the Gāthās of *zrvan* "time", whether "boundless" or otherwise, so that it is hard to see why M. Benveniste should attribute a taint of heretical Zervanism to the Gāthās.

It is regrettable that this volume should be, in its physical make-up, so unworthy of its contents. In several places the translators have erred on the side of literalness, making the English awkward, e. g., "Scholars have doubted to identify these six gods with the Amrta Spanta" (p. 53); "After the dismemberment of the Alexander's empire" (p. 58). The French system of syllabification seems to have been followed in dividing words at the line-ends. Thus there occur countless such peculiar divisions as "entirely" (p. 40), "pie-ces" (p. 52), "howe-ver" (p. 57). French, too, is the sporadic use of small initial letters for proper adjectives and for titles, e. g., mage (p. 17), semitic (p. 68). Occasionally a French word creeps in bodily, e. g., resultat (p. 63). There are innumerable misprints which are not mentioned in the list of errata; like so many books published in France, this volume has suffered from careless proof-reading.

These flaws are, however, all of very minor importance. M. Benveniste has made a valuable contribution both to the interpretation of the Greek texts and to the understanding of the varied and conflicting elements found in the Persian religion, or religions, of different periods. Their presentation is clear and systematic, and the author's main theses are conveniently summed up at the close of each chapter. The book should find a place on the shelves of all Iranists.

MARIA WILKINS SMITH.

Temple University.

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*A Volume on Tangut (Hsi Hsia) Studies.* Peking: BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF PEIPING, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1932. 404 pp., 13 illustrations.

Under the direction of Tsai Yuan-pei, the National Library of Peiping is rapidly increasing its usefulness and importance, both as a library and as a center of research. Among the recent important accessions have been a fragment of the "Stone Classics", dating from 175 A. D., and discovered in 1929 at Loyang, a large number of rubbings of the fifth and sixth centuries, and a number of Sung and Yüan editions. The library had its beginning in 1909 and has had a somewhat checkered history. In 1929 the National Library and the Metropolitan Library were combined

and placed under the joint control of the Ministry of Education and the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture. Since then its advancement has been rapid. Among its valuable collections are over 8,000 Buddhist manuscripts of the T'ang period discovered at Tun-huang.

In 1929, the library secured a large collection of sutras in the Tangut or Hsi Hsia language. This was made possible through a gift of \$10,000.00 from the China Foundation. Now the library has issued this bulletin of Tangut studies, principally by the late Mr. Lo Fu-ch'ang. Besides the texts of the whole or parts of six sūtras, there are reproductions of some inscriptions and examples of three Tangut dictionaries, a general introduction in Chinese reviewing the work of Chinese and European scholars in this field, accounts of the expeditions of Kozlov and Stein, and the "History of the Hsi Hsia Kingdom" from the Sung dynastic history.

The kingdom of Hsi Hsia on the northwest frontier of China existed for several centuries, reached its height during the Sung period, and was eventually absorbed in the empire of Genghiz Khan. The people appear to have been allied to the Tibetans, and the language, while quite different from Chinese, belongs to the Tibetan-Chinese group, and is of importance linguistically, as well as for the historic value of the material written in it. Among the European scholars who have worked on the language are Ivanov, Laufer, Alexiev, and Pelliot. This volume of studies issued by the National Library appears to be an important contribution to scholarship in this field, and will reflect great credit both on its authors and on the library.

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*Nanking Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1. Nanking: UNIVERSITY OF NANKING, 1931. 268 pp.

This is the first number of a new semi-annual publication by the University of Nanking, and the reviewer understands that the contributors to this number are members of the faculty there. The articles cover a very wide field, and apparently anything in the whole range of sinology is acceptable. The value and scholarship of the articles are very uneven. The articles on "Equal Land Distribution in the Han Period" and "Taoist Religion during the

Han Period" are good. That on "The History of the Yin Dynasty" is an attempted reconstruction based on a linguistic analysis of the bone inscriptions. It is not original research and is largely conjecture. "Polygamous Customs of the Han Period" is poor. On the whole, the standard of scholarship does not appear to be as high as in the publications of the National Library of Peking. The text is in Chinese, but there is a table of contents in English.

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*Preuves des Antiquités de Chine.* By PAUL HOUO-MING-TSE.  
Pékin: 1930. Folio, pp. 35 + 676; profusely illustrated.

This enormous volume contains a great amount of material. The illustrations are badly printed and some are so faint that the lines can hardly be distinguished. There are hundreds of them, unnumbered, and the reviewer declines to count them. Little essays on history and art are scattered throughout the volume. They do not seem to be very profound, although occasionally there is an interesting piece of information. The value of the material varies considerably, but there is enough good stuff to make the book worth while. The book covers nearly the whole range of Chinese art and includes reproductions of coins and of stone inscriptions.

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*Mu-yang-ch'eng; Han and Pre-Han Sites at the Foot of Mount Lao-t'ieh in South Manchuria.* By YOSHITO HARADA and KAZUCHIKA KOMAI. *Archaeologia Orientalis*, Vol. II. Tokyo: TOA-KOKOGAKU-KWAI, or FAR-EASTERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1931. Folio; pp. x + 39 English, 18 German, and 68 Japanese; 62 plates.

Japanese scholars have been doing excellent archaeological work in Japan, Korea and Manchuria, and this splendid volume is fully up to the best western standards. The arrangement, illustrations, type, and the general scholarly thoroughness are all that could be asked. On the end of the Liao-tung peninsula near Ryojun (Port Arthur) are the remains of an ancient castle with mud walls, which has been identified as Mu-yang. It attracted the attention of Professor K. Hamada of the Kyoto Imperial University in 1910.



The first excavations of the Far-Eastern Archaeological Society were made in 1927 near P'i-tzu-wo under Hamada. Neolithic and æneolithic sites were discovered, and the report forms Vol. I of this series. The site of Mu-yang was excavated in 1928 by the society in conjunction with the Kwantô Government Museum, and this volume is the report of the work.

The horizons uncovered range from the neolithic to the Han period, and only the briefest resumé of the important finds can be attempted here. Among the stone finds were arrow-heads, kitchen-knives, axe-heads, and weights. There were bone arrow-heads, needles and unidentified implements, ear ornaments of glass, nephrite beads, and pieces of jade. Various bronze and iron articles, arrow-heads, knives, girdle fittings, casting molds, and coins of the feudal state of Yen (Chou period) and of the Ch'in and Han empires. Three groups of pottery were found. The first belonged to the stone age. The second, black in color and made on the wheel, belonged to the period of the Contending States of the 4th and 3rd Centuries B. C. The third group belonged to the Han period, and was black, white, or brown in color. There were also spindle whorls, and seven types of tiles and bricks of the Han period. An interesting variety of tombs and human remains were found. Some tombs were shell-covered, some were covered with stone debris, some had pottery jar coffins, and some were the so-called chi-chou graves, in which the walls of the excavation were burnt to secure hardness. It appears that although the castle itself was not built until the Han period, the site had been occupied during the stone and the Chou periods.

Japanese scholarship is to be congratulated on this fine piece of work, and it is to be hoped that the authors are only at the beginning of their activities.

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*A Union List of Selected Western Books on China in American Libraries.* By CHARLES S. GARDNER. Washington: AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES, 1932. 51 pp.

The moment such a bibliography is published, a dozen titles which might have been included occur to one's mind no matter how much care has been expended in preparation. As the reviewer had the opportunity to suggest titles when this little volume was in

preparation, it would certainly be unfair for him to criticize its omissions now that it has appeared. It does not pretend to be exhaustive. It may be pointed out, however, that the list of periodicals might have been fuller, and among those which publish articles on China, and which are not on this list, are *Acta Orientalia*, the *China Journal*, and such serials as the reports of the various German academies of science like those of Saxony and Prussia. A number of periodicals are listed in the introduction but are not listed under periodicals in the bibliography, like the *Chinese Recorder* and the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

These and other omissions do not materially affect the great value of this little book. There are listed 277 titles, which include nearly all the western books which are a necessary apparatus for a scholar in this field. All should be possessed by any American library which aspires to major importance. The selection is critical, and the vast amount of trash published on China is carefully omitted. The books are classified, and as far as possible notices of reviews of the books are given with the titles. This bibliography fills a long-felt need, and should be a considerable aid in the development of American sinology.

Another bibliography on China was published by Probsthain (London) several years ago. It is much wider and more inclusive than Mr. Gardiner's, especially in the European titles, and it lists quite a number of Chinese texts. While Mr. Gardiner's book is fully adequate for its intended purpose, Probsthain's and the older and still more exhaustive work of Cordier, are still essential for the specialist.

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*The Culture Contacts of the United States and China.* By GEORGE H. DANTON. New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1931. xi + 133 pp.

While the great need in sinology is for scholars who can examine Chinese sources, this little book illustrates the valuable work that can be done from western sources. Perhaps its title is too wide and raises false hopes. The book actually covers the contacts between the two countries between 1784 and 1844, as is indicated in the subtitle. The treatment of the Americans who went to China during these years is all that can be desired. On the other hand, the

Chinese attitude toward foreigners is not analysed with sufficient thoroughness. The exclusiveness of the Chinese at this period is not characteristic of Chinese history generally, but only set in about 1400 as a reaction from the amazingly free intercourse with foreign countries during the Mongol period, and for other reasons. It is a mistake to describe the Chinese mind only from foreign sources. Nevertheless, while the material contained in this book cannot be said to be new, the treatment is able, and the book will be a valuable summary of the early relations between the two countries. The bibliography is full, but can hardly be called critical. A later volume is promised, which will give a fuller study of the Chinese material.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

University of Pennsylvania.

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*Sabäische Inschriften.* Bearbeitet von J. H. MORDTMANN und EUGEN MITTWOCH: *Rathgens-v. Wissmannsche Südarabienreise*, Band 1: Hamburgische Universität, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, Bande 36. Hamburg: FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co., 1931. Pp. xxi + 270; 3 folding maps.

This publication is to be hailed as marking a new epoch in South-Arabic studies. In the winter of 1927-28 Messrs. Carl Rathgens and Herrmann v. Wissmann undertook a geographical exploration of the Yemen and through the support of the Imam were able in addition to their other aims to make copies of a large number of inscriptions, and also, as the Preface adds, were the first to pursue systematic excavations in the land. When we recall the furtive and fugitive labors of Halévy and Glaser in that country and the martyr-death of the explorer Burchardt in 1909, we realize that the new political map of Arabia may spell its opening-up to the archaeologist. The recent amazing adventures of Bertram Thomas in the hinterland of Oman and in the Rub' al-Khali have now their counterpart in the peaceful pursuit of archaeology in the southwest of the peninsula, which still remains practically unexplored. We may suppose that the Imam of the Yemen, hemmed in as he is between the new kingdom of Arabia and the British possessions on the southern coast, is ready to cultivate the diplomatic and

scientific friendship of other nationalities. A second volume will present the engineering results of the labors of Messrs. Rathgens and v. Wissmann. The present volume, edited by J. H. Mordtmann, editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and Eugen Mittwoch, distinguished, *inter al.*, for his Ethiopic studies, presents the epigraphic results of the expedition. The localities studied are illustrated by two sketch maps and three large folding maps bound in at the end of the volume, one of them of San'a and its vicinity; these vastly enlarge our exact knowledge of the unsurveyed land. (Attention may be called to Grohmann's "Historisch-geographische Bemerkungen", an appendix to Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Studien*, I, 1927, pp. 110-144, with accompanying large sketch map of the Yemen.) The explorers have been able to localize exactly the inscriptions old as well as new, as has never been done before, and have made technical observations of great value; for example to the effect that the inscriptions found in San'a, a comparatively modern city, were all brought in for building purposes from older sites in the neighborhood, and that the provenance of many of them can be determined.

Chapter I presents a brief essay on Sabaeen chronology. Here may be noted the editors' observation that the Katabanian kingdom should be given two or three centuries' longer duration than has been supposed (p. 10, cf. p. 220). Chapters II-V give inscriptions from four different districts, 174 numbers in all, large and small, for many fragments are included. A large number of these are the explorers' own discovery; but the most important are fresh copies of inscriptions copied by Glaser, many of which have appeared in the *Corpus*, and of the inscriptions photographed by Burchardt, few of which have so far appeared. There is thus given a control upon the earlier copies as also upon the photographs, which from their character are often not wholly legible. Also there has been found opportunity through the observation of the originals to reassemble parts of texts which had been published separately; e. g. *CIS* Nos. 171 and 241 are proved, (p. 60) to be halves of one and the same inscription. Chapter IV, including Nos. 146-150, is devoted to unpublished photographic texts of Burchardt's. For this and the other material of that explorer the editors have used the manuscript volumes ("eine staatliche Reihe von Bänden") of the explorer, now in the possession of the Oriental Seminar in Berlin

through the gift of his heirs (p. viii). The commentary on the texts is carried out in finest detail; as it covers many of Glaser's texts that have already appeared in the *Corpus*, the work becomes in good part a super-commentary on the latter. In the Index, p. 269 f., are listed over 200 such cross-references in addition to many references to other collections of texts. There is a wealth of geographical, historical, and philological discussion of greatest value, for it must be remembered that *Sabäistik* still remains in its infancy. I may note here but a few of the points of general interest. On p. 58 is recorded an underground aqueduct "three hours long", feeding the city of Ḥāz. Pp. 218-220 present an essay on the much disputed genealogy of 'Alhān Nahfān. The name Wāhibilāt gives the first instance in South-Arabic of a name well known in early North-Arabic (p. 87). The Hebrew usage, e. g., "the man Micah", has its correspondence in Sabaean, "the man Mas'ūd"; so also the two languages agree in the idiom "a man to his brother" for "to one another" (p. 52). For the first time in South-Arabic appears the name-form 'Uḥtuhu, "His-sister", i. e. the father's, of a type known in Akkadian and common in late Aramaic (p. 125). The root 𐩣𐩦𐩪 appears in the meaning "to watch over" (p. 136), as in Ethiopic, and enforces the reviewer's opinion that so the verb is to be understood in the Hebrew name Jacob, i. e. *Ya'qob-el*, "God watches over". There is an Appendix on local fabrication of antiquities, pp. 243-251, with illustrations of what appears to be a busy trade in San'ā—a warning to the amateur collector. The volume is concluded with a glossary of 17 pages in double column, with detailed analysis of the usage of words. A notable piece of scientific work in itself, the volume augurs a new day in South-Arabic exploration. It may be noted here that at the Leyden Congress of Orientalists held last September the South-Arabists formed themselves into a Group, with Prof. G. Ryckmans of Louvain as chairman, and including the eminent scholars in that line of studies; from such a body we can expect much for the furtherance of research in this field.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

University of Pennsylvania.

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*The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (The Richards Lectures delivered at the University of Virginia). By WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT. New York: FLEMING H. REVELL Co., 1932. Pp. 223.

The author of this book has become within the last ten years the leading American authority on the archaeology of Palestine. As Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem from 1920-1929, he had unparalleled opportunities to become familiar with all the intimate details of Palestinian archaeology—opportunities which he improved to the utmost. While Dr. Albright has in the past published many articles, the volume before us is the first book that we have had from his pen. The high quality of his more transitory publications leads one to read his book with great expectation.

The volume before us is based on three lectures which he delivered in February, 1931, at the University of Virginia on the Richards Foundation. The first lecture treats of "The Discovery of Ancient Palestine", the second, "Unearthing a Biblical City" and the third is entitled "The Bible in the Light of Archaeology". In the first two lectures, the author's thorough knowledge of archaeology produces a masterly treatment of his topics. In the first lecture, the work of all who have engaged in Palestinian explorations is briefly but fairly passed in review and each worker is accorded just and discriminating praise for his actual contribution to knowledge. The progress in the science of excavation, and especially the great increase in the development of exploration into an exact science by the data afforded by the pottery of different periods, is so sketched as to enable the reader to appreciate how many of the supposed results of the earlier explorers can now be corrected.

In the second lecture, the author describes briefly, but clearly, the excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim (probably Debir, Kirjath-sepher, of the Bible), of which he himself has been the Director. The reader is not only given an opportunity to understand how a Palestinian city is scientifically excavated, but why it is possible from the objects found, and especially from the pottery in the succession of definitely defined strata, to date with a good degree of approximation, the different cultures which succeeded one another. By such work as this, explorers like Dr. Albright are

developing a new and valuable chronological datum for the determination of the dates at which successive waves of culture and religious customs flourished in the land of the Bible. Much has been written during the past fifty years concerning the verdict of archaeology upon problems of Biblical criticism, and most of what has been written has been wide of the mark. It seems possible that, through the labors of such scholars as Albright, we may be on the verge of a new era of solid scientific work in this field. Such an achievement would be gladly welcomed by all lovers of truth.

When, however, the reader turns to the third lecture, with the expectation of finding definite and convincing checking of the results derived from literary investigation, he is disappointed. The author is unable, of course, in so brief a compass to discuss the whole field and has selected three topics by which to illustrate the application of the principles which he has developed. These three are: "The Age of the Patriarchs", "The Law of Moses", and "The Age of the Exile and the Restoration". In his treatment of the first topic, he rightly draws attention to the great increase in recent years of our knowledge of the period 1800-1600 B. C., and contends that Abraham lived in this period, and was not a contemporary of Hammurabi. However much one's inclinations might predispose him to believe this, it should be frankly recognized that as yet the hypothesis, especially as regards characters said in the 14th chapter of Genesis to be contemporary with Abraham, asks us to explain obscure facts by possibilities still more obscure.

The author's treatment of the antiquity of the law of Moses is still more disappointing. While he recognizes that the main analysis of the Pentateuch, which resulted from a century of intensive study culminating in the work of Julius Wellhausen, stands, there breathes through his treatment of the topic a tone of hostility to Wellhausen and his school that seems to be inherited from the fundamentalists of a former generation. Particularly weak is his argument for the monotheism of Moses, based on the monotheism of Ikhnaton, and the supposed monotheism of a Babylonian tablet published in CT 2450. So good an Egyptologist as the late W. Max Müller maintained that Ikhnaton was not a real monotheist, and in the words of so great a master of the History of Religion as the late Prof. George Foote Moore the Babylonian text

"concedes no such [monistic] subtleties; what it says is

that Marduk is the whole pantheon, and that, not as a piece of speculation, but as a liturgical glorification of Marduk. Even such purely verbal unifications of the god-head are late <sup>1</sup> and infrequent ”.

In any event, until some inscription left by Moses is discovered, real proof of the monotheism of Moses can only be found in the Bible itself.

Albright's treatment of "The Age of the Exile and the Restoration" is much more successful, though here he has in one instance overlooked an important fact. He believes that the Elephantine papyri which refer to Sanballat definitely place the reform of Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes I, rather than in the reign of Artaxerxes II. He has overlooked the testimony of Josephus who places Sanballat in the time of Alexander the Great, and the probability pointed out by Torrey that there were two Sanballats. Indeed, it is not impossible that there was a succession of them.

The book before us is a most valuable contribution to the subject of which it treats and gives great promise of what we may yet expect from its author. The application of archaeology to criticism made in the three lectures is only a revelation of the fact that in such matters our study has not yet become an exact science.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

University of Pennsylvania.

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<sup>1</sup> The mention of the Kassite gods in the text does not prove the text from that period; only that it could not have been written before that time.





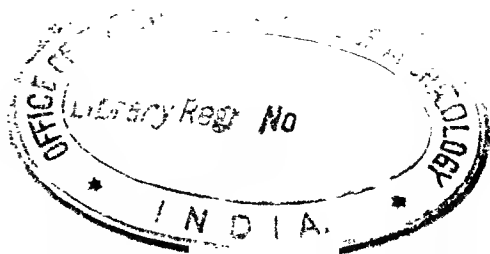
## PEHLEVI SEAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM YALE COLLECTIONS

CHARLES C. TORREY  
YALE UNIVERSITY

THE INSCRIPTIONS here published, chiefly Sassanian proper names and titles, with one or two familiar legends, are from the clay bullae used in Babylonia in sealing corded merchandise. Bullae from the Seleucid period, bearing Greek inscriptions, with now and then an Aramaic name written in the Semitic alphabet, are already well known; see for example Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, Part IV, 52 f. and Plate VI. Still more familiar are the specimens from a much earlier time, labels inscribed in cuneiform or bearing impressions from cylinder seals; see C. E. Keiser, *Cuneiform Bullae from the Third Millennium B. C.*, New York, 1914; especially Plates I, II, and VII. I am not aware that any specimens from the Sassanian time, or inscribed in any variety of Pehlevi, have hitherto been published.

The School of the Fine Arts in Yale University possesses two dozen or more of these Sassanian bullae, acquired recently by purchase from a dealer in Bagdad. The inscriptions on some of these are nearly or quite obliterated, so that while they are more or less important as specimens of Persian art, it could not serve my present purpose to include them here. I publish all those which seem to contain something legible.

The James B. Nies Collection of Babylonian Antiquities, belonging to Yale University, also contains ten of these clay seals, probably purchased by Dr. Nies when he was in Irak. Of these, one contains no inscription, but only an artistic motive; two others show only a few scattered Pehlevi characters. The seven inscriptions which are more or less distinctly legible are here presented. The seals of the Nies Collection I designate by the letter N, those belonging to the Art School by the letter A, adding in each case the catalogue number. The accompanying photographs are chiefly intended to show the inscriptions rather than the bullae. A few of the latter are shown entire, as can be seen, but in most cases the picture has been trimmed nearly to the seal impression. The original size is reproduced in the five larger central figures and in a few of the smaller, such as 4491 and 7 a; but the majority are reduced in size



for convenience. The photographs of nos. 4, 7 d, and 11 are furnished by the courtesy of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, and those of the N-seals by the courtesy of the Babylonian Collection, excepting nos. 4491, 4497, and 4499. These three, and all the remaining illustrations of the A-group, are from my own photographs.

There have been two comprehensive and very important publications of Sassanian seals and gems: Paul Horn und Georg Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine (Mittheilungen aus d. orientalischen Sammlungen d. kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Heft IV, 1891)*; and Horn, *ZDMG* 44. 650 ff., "Sasanidische Gemmen aus dem British Museum." Without these two publications and Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch* I should have been wellnigh helpless. The glyptic art represented by these seals is generally of a high order and very interesting. The clay impressions, often badly worn and damaged, here reproduced cannot do justice to the fineness of the original work. In the larger specimens (as in the bullae of the older periods, especially those of the Seleucid time) the principal seal is accompanied by several others of smaller size. A few of the latter bear inscriptions in Pehlevi. The legends are reproduced here, as usual, in Hebrew characters. In the transliterations or translations, the occasional use of italics indicates an Aramaic word.

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**A 1931. 75.** Portrait, full face (the portraits are usually in profile). Star and crescent in the field, as in most of the other seals.

ראסה ורהראן זי מגו

Rāst Varahrān (Bahram) *zī* magū ("the Magian"). The adjective *rāst*, "right, true," found occasionally joined to these names.

A small seal impression at the side bears an inscription of which only the first half, אפסתאן, is legible. Undoubtedly the much-used legend, Apastān 'al yezdān, "Reliance on God."

Another of the minor seals, just above the portrait, shows the device of a zebu, and bore the same legend, though only the first three letters can now be seen.

**A 1931. 76.** The ornamental device so characteristic of these Persian seals and gems.

יזדאנדאת זי מגו זי מאה זי ורהזשתאן

Yezdāndāt *zī* magū *zī* Māh *zī* Varahzuštān. "Y., the Magian, son

of M., son of V." The last name is interesting. On one of the seals of the British Museum Horn (p. 655, no. 498) read *ורריושתי*, a name for which he found no explanation. Justi, *Namenbuch*, proposed to correct this to Warahzūštē, though giving no other example of the name. Our bulla shows that he was right; in fact, the initial *w* seems plain in Horn's photograph. In our seal impression the characters, though often dimly visible, are all quite certain excepting the *t* of the last name; and here the remaining traces indicate this letter rather than any other.

**A 1932. 4.** Pegasus (a frequently occurring device), facing r.

אפאנדאח

This name, Āpāndāt, occurs several times in the seal inscriptions of the Yale collections, but seems otherwise to be rare. Horn and Steindorff have one example, p. 33.

**A 1932. 6 b.** Ibex standing, facing r. Ornamental tassels flying backward from the neck. The whole badly eroded, the first name entirely obliterated.

.....וי מנו וי מאהדאתאן

"....., the magian, son of Māhdātān."

**A 1932. 7 a.** Zebu, r., with enormous eye. Below, a crescent. Inscription very indistinct.

מתרפאי

Mitrpāi, an abbreviated name; perhaps from Justi's Mitnpanākh (or Miharpanāh), though there are other possibilities.

**A 1932. 7 d.** Zebu, r.; the whole bulla much worn and broken away. In the inscription, the first name is lost; slight traces of the final letters make it probable that it was Ōhrmazdāt. Then follows distinctly

פארסומי

Pārsūmē, the name sometimes written Bārsūm; Horn and Steindorff, p. 41.

**A 1932. 7 e.** Zebu, r. The letters of the inscription are small and only doubtfully legible. Moreover, a piece of the clay has been broken off, carrying with it the beginning of the inscription. Only the middle is distinct.

.....תכאת וי מנו וי בא...ופאן

The ending of the last name is certain. It may be that the reading before *zi* magū should be *rāt*, the title often given to the Magians.

**A 1932. 8 a.** Ornamental device. The whole inscription clear.

אוהרמזדאט מגו זי אפאנדאטאן ראסתי

Öhrmazdāt magū zī Āpāndātān Rāstē. See above, nos. 1931. 75 and 1932. 4.

**A 1932. 8 c.** Ornamental device, of a less usual pattern. Star l., fire altar r.

פרנבו

Farnbag, a name especially common in the magian seals.

**A 1932. 8 d.** Ornamental device. Characters of the inscription generally faint, but quite legible. A second impression of the same seal which made 8 a (the photograph, by oversight, actually reproduces 8 a!).

**A 1932. 10 a.** Ornamental device, on wings.

אפסתאן על יודאן י אר.

The very familiar legend, Apastān 'al Yezdān, "Reliance on God," which sounds like an inheritance from the Assyrian inscriptions. The end of the inscription is illegible; it looks like Ardū, but the last two letters show only very faint traces.

**A 1932. 10 b.** Ornamental device. This, and the inscription, exactly duplicating the preceding. The same letters at the end are indistinct, and in the same way. That is, we have another impression of the same seal.

**A 1932. 11.** Ornamental device, simplest pattern, with crescent and star.

ורהראן

Varahrān (Bahram).

**A 1932. 12.** Ornamental device, with crescent and star.

יורכרתי

Yazdekertē, the characters unusually large and distinct.

**A 1932. 13.** Ornamental device, etc.

אתורד[א]ת

Ātūrdāt. See Horn and Steindorff, p. 32.

The seals of the Nies Collection differ markedly from the pre-

ceding, both in the names which they bear and also, to some extent, in the Pehlevi script.

**N 4490 (a).** The principal seal on this bulla contains only an inscription, in characters unusually large and (except at one point) distinct.

בארור מגו זי אהו...וד אשתכואתיאן

Bārvar magū zī Ahu...ōd(?) Ašt-Kavātē. The name Bārvar (not found elsewhere?) would mean "fruit-producing"; bār + var (used in Pehlevi as well as the more common -vār), an adjective common in the later Persian. After the "Ahu" in the second name, some accident while the clay was still soft obliterated three letters. A trace of the first of these suggests *m* or *p*. The name may have ended with rōd ("face"), but it is perhaps more likely that the letter read as *w* should be *n*. The last name is a compound of ašt ("friend") and Kavāt, the Qawād, Kobād of later times. Note that both Bārvar and Kavāt are found on another seal of this collection (no. 4498).

**N 4490 (b).** Another large seal impression on the same bulla. Portrait, bearded, r.

מנושאן זרין(?) זי מגו זי אתורפרנבגאן

Manušān Zarīn(?) zī magū zī Ātūrfarnbagān. The second and third letters of the first name are uncertain, being damaged by a crack in the clay. The characters which I have read zarīn ("golden") are very minute and crowded. So also are some of those which follow. The reading of the last name is certain.

**N 4491.** Zebu, r. (finely sculptured), with ornamental tassels. Inscription very faint, barely legible, in the middle; also damaged at the very beginning, by a crack, and at the end by the breaking out of a piece of the clay.

באכי זי מגו זי אפאנדאח אנאף(?) זי שפיר ור...

Bākī zī magū zī Āpāndāt Anāf(?) zī šappīr Var.... The first name, if correctly read, is abbreviated; several known middle-Persian names begin with Bāk-. I doubt the reading "Anāf" because of the long *ā*; see no. 4498 (b). The Aramaic word *šappīr*, "fair, good," occurs frequently on these seals and gems.

**N 4492.** Ibex, r., with tassel ornaments. The inscription is very faint.

פרור מתכאן

Fravar(?) Matakān. I do not know what to make of the first name, unless it is to be connected with the old name Fravarti (Phraortes), as would seem probable. On the survival of *fra-* (not yet pronounced *far-*) in Pehlevi, see Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, no. 812, note 2. Is the second name to be connected with the *Matákas* of the *Namenbuch*? The final *n* is very indistinct, turned in close to the leg of the ibex.

**N 4496.** Ornamental device.

### מארגושנכף מנו

Māhgūšnasp magū. On the Gūšnasp names see Horn, *Sasanidische Gemmen aus dem British Museum*, p. 673; also Justi, s. v. Warešna.

**N 4497.** Zebu, r., unadorned. Neither star nor crescent in the field.

### פרנבת זי באת

Farnabat zī Bāt. The first name is the Persian equivalent of *Φαρναπάτης*. See also Justi, s. v. Phranipates. The second name is the *Bārus* of the Greek writers on Persian affairs.

**N 4498 (a).** The principal seal contained only an inscription, as in the case of no. 4490.

### בארור זי אפרו זי מנו זי חוסרו [בג]שאת כואחי

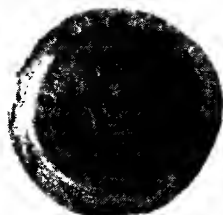
Bārvar zī Afrō zī magū zī Hūsrav (Chosro) Bagašāt(?) Kavātē. On the first and last of these names see above, on no. 4490 (a). Afrō (the reading is plain) is interesting; to be connected with the name Afrō-rāi, found on the seal mentioned in the *Namenbuch*? See also Justi s. v. Farnbag. The first two letters of "Bagašāt" are almost certain, though they are partially obliterated. I do not know that the name has been found elsewhere; but it is regularly formed, and would mean "joy in God."

The seal which made this impression came from the same atelier as 4490 (a), as is shown by the combined evidence of pattern, script, and proper names. See especially the somewhat peculiar characters (exactly duplicated!) in the words "magū zī."

**N 4498 (b).** Ibex, r., with the tassel ornaments.

### מתן זי אנף

Mitn zī Anaf. One of the Pehlevi forms of the name Mithra (see above, on 7 a); not unusual as a man's name. Anaf (see the note



8a



8d



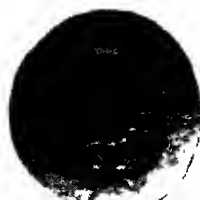
8c



6b



4



10a



11



7a



7a



13



12



75



76



7e



10b





4492



4491



4490



4493



4496



4498



4497



4499

on no. 4491), corresponding to the Greek *Ἀνάφης*, is abbreviated from Anaphernes (Onaphernes). What appears in the photograph to be a subsequent Pehlevi character is the end of the ibex's tail.

**N 4499.** Portrait, full face, with heavy hair and beard, and elaborately ornamented.

אתור ארתדו (?) וי [את] ורפרנבג

Ātūr-Artadōē zī Ātūrfarnbag. The inscription is defective in several places. What Artadōē(?) may be abbreviated from, I do not know. The *d* is plain. The reading of the last name seems certain.

## ĀBHĀSA

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

*Abhāsa*, lit. "shining forth, manifestation, semblance," is used in northern *Śāivism* to designate the world conceived as a theophany. Analogous to this is the familiar conception of God as the supreme artist, *nirmāṇa-kāraka*, whose work is the world picture, *jagaccitra*.<sup>1</sup>

In *Silpa* usage, as I have shown in *JAOS* 48. 251, *abhāsa* means "painting," and not some mysterious and otherwise unknown material, as suggested by Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, p. 63 and *Mānasāra*, p. 71. I now offer in support of the same view the translation of a text not cited by Acharya, viz. the *Kāśyapaśilpa*, Ch. L (Pratimālakṣaṇa), vv. 1-7 (*Ānandāśrāma* Series, No. 95, p. 167):

1. Hearken with singly directed mind to the exposition of the characteristics of images. The immovable, the movable, and those both movable and immovable form a class of three:<sup>2</sup>

2. Those made of terracotta (*mṛṇmaya*), of laterite (?*śārkara*), those of stucco (?*sāuyaja*), or painted (read *ālekhyam*, cf. *lekhyam* in *Sukranītisāra* IV. 4. 70) are immovable; those made of stone, wood, mineral (*dhātu*, possibly jade), or gems

3. are both immovable and movable; those of metal (*loha*) are movable. (Further) *ardhacitra*, *citra*, and *citrābhāsa*, form a class of three,

4. (of which) *ardhacitra* (half-representation, high relief) is an image where half the body is not seen (read *ardhāṅgādarśanam*); *citra* (representation in the full round) is when the image is visible all round (*sarvāvayava-saṁdṛṣṭam*);<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Māitri Upaniṣad* VI. 7, "He illumines (*bhāsayati*) these worlds . . . he gladdens (*rañjayati*, 'colors') beings here": *Śaṅkarācārya*, *Svātmanirūpaṇam*, 95, "On the vast canvas of the Self, the Self itself paints the picture of the manifold worlds, and the Supreme Self enjoys a great delight at the sight of it."

<sup>2</sup> With reference, of course, to the three kinds of images: (1) *dhruva* or *yoga bera* or *mūla vighraha*, permanently established in a shrine; (2) *bhoga mūrti* or *utsava vighraha*, carried in processions; and (3) *dhyāna bera*, used in private devotions.

<sup>3</sup> The *Suprabhedāgama* describes *ardhacitra* as *ardhāvayava-saṁdṛśyam*, and *citra* as *sarvāvayava-saṁpūrṇam-dṛśyam*.

5. (and) *ābhāsa* (painting) is said with respect to an image on a canvas or wall (made to appear as if) in relief (*nimnōnnate paṭe bhittāu*); (further,) *ardhacitra* (high relief) is done in plaster (*sudhā*), being half in the power of the other, full round, representation (*citra*);

6. *ābhāsa* (painting) is to be done with mineral colors (*dhātu*)<sup>4</sup> and so also *citrārdha* (high relief). But paintings (*citrābhāsa*) of the gods are (of three classes, viz.) best, middling, and good,

7. (For example,) a base (*pīṭha*) of (plain) brick is good, one painted (*ābhāsaka*) is better, and one of painted terracotta relief (*ābhāsārdha-mṛṇmayam*) is best.

Another source not cited by Acharya is the *Silparatna* LXIV. 1-11; here *citra*, *ardhacitra*, and *citrābhāsa* are similarly distinguished, the former being *sarvāṅga-dṛśya-karaṇam*, "having all its parts visible," the second as *bhittī-ādāu lagna-bhāvenāpy ardhām*, "when half of its being is attached to a wall or like surface," the last is spoken of as *vilekhanam*, "painting," and further as *lekhyam . . . nānā-varṇānvitam*, painted with the use of many colors"; it is also stated that *citra* and *citrārdha* may be done in clay or plaster, wood, stone, or metal (*loha*).

*Ābhāsa* is used in *Silpa* texts in another sense,<sup>5</sup> with reference to the unit of measurement proper to be employed in various kinds of buildings; the four different units specified being *jāti*, the full cubit (*hasta*), *chanda*, three-quarter cubit, *vikalpa*, (not defined), and *ābhāsa*, one-half cubit. These units are employed respectively in relation to building for gods and Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras. It is therefore clear that *ābhāsa* represents the least in a series of modifications or transformations of a whole unit. This meaning is quite consistent with that of *ābhāsa*, "painting," regarded as a modification of *citra*, "full representation," that of *rasābhāsa*, "semblance of flavor" in *Alaṅkāra* terminology, *vastrābhāsa*, "semblance of clothes" in a painting (*Pañcadaśī* VI, 6), *cid-ābhāsa*, "reflection of absolute intelligence," viz. *jīva*, *ibid.*, and that of *ābhāsa* as "theophany."

<sup>4</sup> Here, evidently *dhātu-rāga*, mineral color, as in *Meghadūta*, 102, where the commentary has *sindurādi*, "vermillion, etc.": not *dhātu*, a mineral or some metal other than *loha* in verse 2 above, nor *dhātu*, "metal," in *Sukranītisāra* IV. 4. 70.

<sup>5</sup> Acharya, *Dictionary*, . . . pp. 63 and 65, item 5 (out of place), and *Mānasāra*, pp. 48, 49.

*Ābhāsa-gata* occurs in Vasubandhu, *Abhidharmakośa*, V, 34 (Poussin, p. 72) with the related meaning "in the field of objective experience," *ābhāsa* being equivalent to *viṣaya-rūpatā*, "sensible objectivity," and *ābhāsa-gata* to *drśya*, "empirically perceptible." Dignāga uses *ava-bhāsate* with reference to the seemingly objective character of an intellectual image (*antarjñeya rūpa*): *ava-bhāsa* can also be used for "illumination" as a spiritual experience. *Bhāvābhāsa* is "semblance of existence." The opposite of *ābhāsa* is *nirābhāsa* or *an-ābhāsa*, "imageless."

The word *ābhāsa* as "painting" involves some interesting considerations bearing on the psychological conception of the relation of painting to sculpture and relief, and on the idea of the third dimension in painting. Verse 5b, literally translated above, implies (as does also the very word *citrābhāsa*, literally "the shining forth or semblance of *citra*") that painting is thought of as a constricted *mode* of sculpture; relief, which may also be colored, logically occupying an intermediate position. The view that painting, although actually applied to plane surfaces, was nevertheless conventionally regarded as a kind of solid representation can be supported by additional evidences. For example, in Vin. IV. 61, a monk "raises" (*uṭṭhāpeti*) a picture (*cittam*) on a cloth; and in SA II. 5, a painter "raises up" (*samuṭṭhāpeti*) a form (*rūpam*) on a wall surface by means of his brushes and colors. In Asaṅga's Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṃkāra XIII. 17 we have *citre . . . natōnnatam nāsti ca, drśyate atha ca*, "there is no actual relief in painting, and yet we see it there." In verse 5a translated above, *nimnōnnate* (in agreement with *paṭe* and *bhittāu*) is noteworthy; the canvas or wall is spoken of as "in relief," though it is quite certain that plane painted surfaces are all that is referred to. *Nimnōnnata* occurs also Mālatīmādhava IV. 10, where it refers to the "hills and vales" of the exuberant forms of the women represented in a painting, and we can well understand this expression if we look at the paintings of Ajaṇṭā; and also in Śakuntalā VI. 13 (4), where the Vidūṣaka protests that his eyes actually stumble over the up and down areas in the picture, *nimnōnnata-pradeśeṣu*, which may again refer to the exuberant feminine forms, or in this case to the hills and valleys of the landscape represented, as alluded to *ibid.*, 16 (2 and 3). In the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, Nanjio's edition, p. 91, *nimnōnnata* is again "relief" as seen in a painted landscape

(*citrakṛta-pradeśa*), though the work itself is actually flat (*anim-nōnnata*). In any case *natōnnata* and *nimnōnnata* provide us with exact terms for the relieve, plastic modelling, which is actually seen in the painting of Ajanṭā, while we already possess the word *vartanā*, "shading," for the process by which the relief effect was created, as well as the corresponding Pali *vattana* and *ujjotana*, "shading" and "adding high lights" in a passage of the *Atthasālinī*.<sup>6</sup> It needs only to be emphasized once more that this relieve must not be confused with anything in the nature of "effect of light," *chiaroscuro*, *chāyātapa*.<sup>7</sup> Relievo and *chiaroscuro* are indeed not merely independent, but actually contradictory conceptions, as was realised in Europe even as late as the time of Lionardo, who, though as a naturalist he had long studied the effects produced by direct sunlight and cast shadows, rightly maintained that these effects destroyed the representation of true relief or volume.<sup>8</sup> It is precisely in its constant rendering of volume that early Indian painting reveals its intimate relationship with the contemporary sculpture; and it may be added that when later on Indian sculpture lost its sense of plastic volumes, and became an art of three dimensional outline, painting had also been flattened out; for example, it would be impossible to apply the phrase *nimnōnnata paṭa* to any painting in the Gujarātī or Rajput styles, where only vestigial traces of the old plastic shading survive. Needless to say, this flattening of the visual concept must be ascribed to a subjective modification in race psychology, not to any change of technical procedure undertaken for its own sake; thought precedes stylistic expression, and to seek for the causes of changes in the changes themselves would be a *reductio ad absurdum* of history.<sup>9</sup>

Such a psychological change, manifested in attenuation, can only be conceived of as a slackening of energy, a loose concentration, *śīthila samādhi*. When one considers the impressive volumes of the earlier art, in which the form is as it were pressed outwards from

<sup>6</sup> See *Eastern Art*, III. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* VI. 5.

<sup>8</sup> See Schlosser, *Die Kunstilliteratur*, pp. 157, 158.

<sup>9</sup> Style is here the datum, appearance or authority (*māna*) to be investigated (*bubhutsya*): "Those that attempt by means of authority (*mānena*) to understand the consciousness (*bodham*) which (itself) produced (*prabodhayantam*) the authority (*mānam*) are such great Beings as would burn fire itself by means of fuel!" Śaṅkarācārya, *Svātmanirūpaṇam*, 46.

within, suggesting an indomitable will, one thinks of the numerous passages in literature where the hero is said to swell with anger, or womens' bodies to expand with adolescence or in passion, or of such tensions as those of pregnant trees whose pent up flowering must be released by the touch of a lovely foot. With the passing of time all these energies must have been brought under greater control, softened, and refined. We feel this already in the relative serenity of Gupta sculpture, and the sophisticated poesy of the classical drama; we could not imagine in the twelfth century such heroic forms as those of the figures of donors at Kārli, or that of Friar Bala's "Buddha" at Sārnāth.

But if all this be true and must be understood if we are to penetrate the meaning of the stylistic sequence in life and art, it would also be easy to exaggerate the nature of the change and wrong to evaluate it exclusively in terms of decadence. Sentiment may in part have taken the place of elemental passion, new wordings may have qualified the necessity for self-expression by direct action, patience may have controlled the impulses of the will; but changes such as this belong naturally to the development of the adult consciousness in any cycle, and may well be thought of as sublimations rather than as weakenings of desire. At the same time something definite has been added to life in greater awareness and in lyrical perception. It might even be argued that the flattening out of art, implying as it does a more conventional symbolism than even that of modelling in abstract light, is the expression of a purer intellectuality, which does not require even the illusion of modelling as an aid to reproduction. In any case, one could not, even if it were possible, wish to turn back the movement of time. To be other than we are would be for us the same as not to be; to wish that the art of any period had been other than it was is the same as to wish it had not been. Every style is complete in itself, and to be justified accordingly, not to be judged by the standards of a former or any other age. We are constrained by our own mentality which refuses to be limited by what is only here and now, to seek to understand, and therefore to name, the peculiar and distinctive qualities of every style; but the study of stylistic sequences ought not to be made an occasion of despair.

## REACTIONS TO ART IN INDIA

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

THE PURPOSE of the following notes is to bring together mainly from the general, non-technical literature, a few passages in which the reaction of the public to works of art is reported, partly as a contribution to the vocabulary of criticism, but more with a view to showing how the art was actually regarded by those for whom it was made.

As remarked by Professor D. F. Tovey, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s. v. Music, "When music is too archaic or inaccessible to give us aesthetic data, more may be learned from the disposition of those who were pleased by it than from its recorded technical data."

The artist himself (*śilpin*, *kāraka*) is commonly described as "knowing his craft" (*śilpa-viśārada*, etc.) and as "skilful" (*kāuśāla*): nothing like a special sensibility or natural talent is mentioned, but we find that the moral virtues of ordinary men are expected in him, and for the rest he has his art which he is expected to practise. His attitude with respect to his commission is naturally expressed in *Jātaka* II. 254, as follows, "We musicians, O king, live by the practice of our art (*sippaṃ nissāya*): for remuneration, I will play," but as numerous texts and inscriptions prove, the workman when moved by piety was ready to work gratuitously as an act of merit. In the latter case, artist and patron are one, the work being commanded by the artist's own devotional feeling. As to fame and the purpose of the work, an illuminating couplet attributed to one of the successors of the *Aṣṭacāp* of Hindī literature tells us:

Ours is true poetry, if so be it please great poets yet to come,  
Otherwise, its pretext is that it is a reminder of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

The workman being a rational being, it is taken for granted that every work has a theme or subject (*vastu*, *kārya*, *anukārya*, *ālīkhitavya*, etc.) and a corresponding utility or meaning (*artha*, *arthatā*, *prayojana*).

The general word for understanding or apprehension is *grahaṇa*, "grasping," e. g. *Viṣṇudharmottara* III. 41. 12, cf. the senses as



“apprehenders” (*grahāḥ*) and ideas as “over-apprehenders,” *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* III. 2, and Pali *gahana* used with *sippa* to denote “learning a craft.” An audience is praised as “appreciative of the merits” (*guṇa-grāhiṇi*) of a play, *Priyadarśika* I. 3. According to the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, “The audience shines like a wishing-tree, when the Vedas are its branches, *śāstras* its flowers, and learned men the bees . . . The Seven Limbs of the audience are men of learning, poets, elders, singers, buffoons, and those versed in history and mythology,” and the chief of the audience, the patron, must be a connoisseur.<sup>1</sup> Applause is *ukkuṭṭhi* in *Jātaka* II. 253 and 367, more often the still current exclamation, *sādhū*, “well-done.”

In the *Dūtavākya* of *Bhāsa*, 7, the picture (*paṭa*) of the Gambling Scene is called “admirable” (*darśanīya*, cf. modern colloquial “easy to look at”): and *ibid.*, 13, after a detailed description of the subject matter represented, *Duryodhana* concludes, “O what richness of color (*varṇāḍhyatā*)! What a presentation of the moods (*bhāvōpapannatā*)! What a skilful laying on of colors (*yuktalekhatā*)! How explicit the painting (*svvyaktam ālikhito*)! I am pleased.”

As to these comments, *varṇāḍhya* is stated to be what most interests “others” (*itarejanāḥ*),<sup>2</sup> i.e. people in general, not masters (*ācārya*) or connoisseurs (*vicakṣaṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* III. 41. 11, see *JAOS* 52. 11) confirmed by the (*Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* passage cited below): for the expression of *bhāva* and *rasa* in painting, see *JAOS* 52. 15, note 5, and *Basava Raja*, *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* VI. 2. 19; the exact significance of *yuktalekhatā* is less certain; cf. the word as cited below.

*Darśanīya*, “worth seeing,” occurs regularly in connection with pictures, sculptures, and architecture; cf. *Cūlavamsa* C.251, *manoharam dassanīyam toraṇam*; and *ibid.*, 258, an image of the Buddha is *dassanīyam . . . cārūdassanam*; *ibid.*, 262, pictures are *dassanīyāpare cārū-cittakamme*; analogous is the use of *savanīya* (*śravaṇīya*) “worth hearing,” and *savanīyataram*, “very well worth hearing,” *ibid.* LXXXIX. 33; while the two terms are used together, *ibid.*, 35,

<sup>1</sup> For the full context see Coomaraswamy and Duggirala, *The Mirror of Gesture*, pp. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible, therefore, that in making *varṇāḍhya* *Duryodhana*’s first exclamation, some sarcasm is intended.

with reference to songs and dances, which are *dassana-ssavana-piṇḍam*, "pleasing to see and hear." Cf. *śrotram sukhayati*, "pleases the ear" and *dr̥ṣṭipritim vidhatte*, "pleases the eye," with reference to natural beauties, Priyadarśikā II. 4. A word very commonly applied to pictures is *manorama*, "pleasing the heart."

In Divyâvadâna, 361-2, Māra, at Upagupta's request, manifests himself in the form of the Buddha, with all his specific lineaments (*lakṣanâḍhyam*). Upagupta bows down to this representation, that is, as he explains, to him whose image it is. The form (*rūpa*) assumed by Māra, as an actor assumes a part, is *nayana kāntim ākr̥tim* "a representation delighting the eyes," and *nayana śānti-karam narāṇam*, "giving peace to the eye of man": Upagupta is *abhipramudita*, *pramuditamana*, "overjoyed," *prāmodyam utpannam*, "delight overflows," and he exclaims 'Aho, rūpa-śobhā, kiṁ bahunā', "What beauty of form, in short."

From a monastic point of view, usually but not exclusively Buddhist or Jāina, the arts are rejected altogether as merely a source of pleasant sensations, cf. *vāsanā* in Mahāyāna psychology as "nostalgia," but in art an indispensable innate sensibility. As a single example of the monastic attitude Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra I. 1. 361, may be cited, where it is asserted that music (*saṁgīta*) in no way serves for welfare (*kuśala*), but only infatuates by giving a momentary pleasure (*muhurta-sukha*). The fact is that what Hindus mean by the "pleasure of the eyes" may or may not be a disinterested pleasure, and this has always to be determined from the context.

In the Śakuntalā (VI. 13-14 in Kale's edition, VI. 15-16 in Pischel's, the variants in both versions being here utilized), the king, looking at his own memory picture of Śakuntalā, exclaims with reference to the subject rather than the workmanship, "Oh, the beauty of the painting" (*aho rūpam ālekhyasya*), and later makes a distinction between what is "right" (*sādhū*) in the work, and what is "off" or "out" (*anyathā*, not to be confused with *ardhalikkhita*, "unfinished," which occurs below): still, "something of Śakuntalā's charm (*lāvaṇya*) is caught (*anvita*) in the line (*rekhā*)." The Vidūṣaka finds the line (*rekhā*) full of tender sentiment (*bhāva-madhurā*, P), and the "imitation of mood in the tender passages is noteworthy" (*madhurāvasthāna-darśanīyo bhāvā-nupraveśaḥ*, K), alternatively "it seems to be the very rendering of

reality" (*sattvânupraveśa-śaṅkhayā*, P): he exclaims "In short" (*kin bahunā*, P), "she seems to be speaking, I think" (*ālapana-kāutūhalam me janayati*); he pretends that his eye actually stumbles (*skhalati*) over the hills and vales (*nimnōnnata-pradeśeṣu*).<sup>3</sup> Miśrakeśi remarks on the king's skill with the brush and in outline (*varṭikā-rekhā-nipunatā*), alternatively "in color and line" (*varṇa-rekhā*).

In Bhāsa's Pratijñāyāugandharāyaṇa III. 1, the court jester speaks of the skilful laying on of color (*yuktalekhatā*) in a fresco, shown by the fact that when he rubs the painting, it only grows the brighter (*ujjvalatara*).

In the Mālavikāgnimitra II. 2, a lack of correspondence between the beauty of the model<sup>4</sup> (*saṁprati*) and that represented in the painting is spoken of as *kānti-viśaṁvāda*, and ascribed to imperfect concentration (*śithila samādhi*) on the part of the painter. In the Priyadarśikā III, and Vikramōrvāśi II (introductory stanzas), imperfections of acting are similarly ascribed to the actor's absent mindedness (*śūnya-hṛdayatā*).

In Bhāsa's Pratimānāṭaka III. 5, Bharata seeing the statues of his parents, whom he does not recognize, exclaims "Oh, what sweetness in the workmanship of these stones (*aho kriyā-mādhuryam pāṣaṇānām*)! Ah, what feeling (*bhāva*) is embodied in these images (*aho bhāvagatir ākṛtīnām*)!" He wonders what the figures represent, but "Anyhow, there is a great delight (*praharṣa*) in my heart," which delight is probably thought of not so much as aesthetic as due to a subconscious recognition of the statues as those of his parents. But *pramudaṁ prayāti* said of the Self with respect to the pleasure felt at the spectacle of its own manifestation as the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra I. l. 360, where a man whose eyes are fastened to the (painted?) forms of beautiful women, etc., is said to stumble (*skhalati*), as if the border of his garment had been caught on a hedge. Cf. "there is no actual relief in a painting, and yet we see it there," *citre . . . natōnnataṁ nāsti ca, dṛśyate atha ca*, Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra XIII. 17; cf. Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, cited in text above, p. 210.

In the Śakuntalā, the "hills and vales" may be either those of the bodies of beautiful women represented in the picture, *nimnōnnata* having this application in *Mālatīmādhava* IV. 10, or those of the landscape background, *pradeśa* having this sense in the Śakuntalā itself at VI. 19, cf. *citrakṛta-pradeśa*, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, Nanjio's edition, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Viz., *citrakṛta-kāntā*, as in Śakuntalā VI. 24.

world picture (*jagac-citra*), Śaṅkarācārya's Svâtmanirûpaṇa 95, implies a delight unquestionably disinterested.

In Bhavabhûti's Uttara Râma Caritra I. 39, the sight of the paintings leaves a latent or persisting emotional impression (*bhāvanā*), not a mere memory, but a lingering sentiment, in Sitā's mind: this may be compared with "I still seem to hear the music as I walk," cited below.

In the case of portraits, the excellence of the likeness is naturally commented upon, e. g. Svapnavāsavadattā VI. 13, and Mṛcchakaṭikā IV. 1, the words *sadr̥śī* and *susadr̥śī* (not *sādr̥śya*) being employed. In the Svapnavāsavadattā, loc. cit., the queen, looking at the picture of Vāsavadattā, is "delighted and perplexed" (*prahr̥ṣtôdvignām iva*), but this is because she thinks she recognizes the person represented, it is not an aesthetic effect. In the Mālatīmādhava I. 33. 9-10, the purpose of the portrait (*ālekhyā-prayojana*) is said to be consolation in longing (*utkanṭhā-vinoda*).

The different ways in which a painting may be regarded by spectators of various classes are stated in some detail in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra I. 648 ff., where a painting on canvas (*paṭa*) is spread out (*vistārya*) with a practical purpose, viz., in the hope that some spectator will recognize it as a representation of the events of his own former life. Those versed in scripture (*āgamavid*) praise the representation of the Nandīśvara heavens, because "it accords with the purport of the scripture" (*āgamārthāvisaṃvādi*): the very pious (*mahāśraddha*) nod their heads and describe to one another the figures (*bimbāni*) of the saints (Jina); those expert in the practice of the arts (*kalā-kāuśala-śālin*) praise the purity of the outlines (*rekhā-śuddhi*), as they examine them again and again with sideling glances; others talk of the colors, white, black, yellow, blue, and red, that make the painting look like a brilliant sunset.

An appreciation of architectural beauty is frequently expressed in general terms: there is for instance a moving description of the ruined city of Poḷonnāruva, of which the buildings "through decay and old age are like greybeards and unable to stand erect, becoming more and more bowed down from day to day," Cūlavamsa LXXXVIII. In the same text, LXXVIII. 39, we find the phrase "creating out of brick and stone an elixir for the eyes" (*rasāyana*); cf. *netrāmṛta*, of a picture, Avadāna Kalpalatā, 1888, p. vii.

In the Guttīla Jātaka (No. 243) there is a competition between

two *vinā*-players, who show their art (*sippam dassesanti*) which the people see (*passanti*). At first, when both play equally well, the public is delighted (*tuttho* = *tuṣṭha*).<sup>5</sup> The competition then becomes one not so much of musical talent, as in the performance of a stunt, the victor playing on a reduced number of strings, and finally only on the body of his instrument. The public cries out against the defeated competitor, saying "You do not know the measure (*pamāṇa* = *pramāṇa*) of your capacity."

In the *Vikramacaritra* III. 2 (HOS 26. 18, and 27. 15),<sup>6</sup> where there is a dancing competition between two apsaras, Vikramāditya, who knows all the arts (*sakala-kalābhijña*) and is especially a connoisseur (*vicakṣaṇa*) of the science of the ensemble of musical arts (*viśeṣasaṃgīta-vidyā*) acts as judge.<sup>7</sup> He decides in favor of *Urvaśī* because she fulfils the requirements of the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, both as to her person and as to her ability; the latter is shown specifically in registering (*sūcanā*) the full meaning by means of language conveyed in bodily movements, in the accurate rhythms of the feet, in the sensitive gestures (*abhinaya*) of the hands, and their agreement with the permitted permutations (*tad-vikalpānuvṛttāu*), in the constant displacement of one mood by another in the field of representation, and in her skilful blending of the passions (*rāga-bandha*). In short, "I preferred *Urvaśī* because I found her a danseuse of such a sort as is described in *Nāṭya Śāstra*."

In the *Priyadarśikā* III, where there is a play within a play, the former raises the spectator's interest to the highest degree, *adhikarataram kautūhalam vardhayati*, which is modestly explained by the author as due to the merit of the subject. In the same act of the same work, the verb *avahr*, "to transport, enrapture," is used with reference to the effects of a performance on the harp (*vinā*); the king, too, evokes admiration or astonishment (*vismaya*) by his performance.

In the *Mṛcchakatikā* III. 2-5, *Cārudatta* has attended a musical performance (*gāndharva*): he is reminiscent, and exclaims, "Ah,

<sup>5</sup> Similarly in the case of a dancing competition, *Vikramacaritra*, HOS 27. 15, the two apsaras first dance together and the assembly of the gods is delighted, *nṛtyam dṛṣṭvā saṃtoṣam agamat*.

<sup>6</sup> The text here, vv. 4, 5, and 6, is almost identical with *Mālavikāgnimitra* II. 3, 6, and 8.

<sup>7</sup> "Judgment" is *vivāda-nirṇaya*. In the *Mālavikāgnimitra* the king as connoisseur is *viśeṣa-jña*, as judge, *praśnika*.

ah, well done (*sādhū*)! Master Rebhila's song was excellent (*suṣṭhu*).” Then, more technically,<sup>8</sup> speaking both as expert in the art and as *rasika*, “The sound was informed by the moods (*bhāva*), now passionate (*rakta*), now sweet (*madhura*), now calm (*sama*), languishing (*lalita*) and ravishing too; it seemed like the lovely voice of my own hidden love. The low progressions (*svara-samkrama*) seated in the vibrating strings, the crescendo (*tāra*) of the scales (*varṇa*) and modes (*mūrccana*), and their diminuendo (*mṛdu*) in the pauses—when passion is restrained, desire repeats its languishing (*lalita*)—and though the reality was ended with the song itself, I seem to hear it as I walk.” There is a similarly technical appreciation of a *viṇā*-performance in *Priyadarśikā* III. 10.

To sum up, it will be seen that everyone is thought of as making use of the work of art in his own way: the work of visual art, no less than a word, being a *kāma-dhenu*, yielding to the spectator just what he seeks from it or is capable of understanding. Everyone is interested in the subject matter or application of the work, as a matter of course. More specifically, we find that learned men, pandits, are concerned about the correctness of the iconography; the pious are interested in the representation of the holy themes as such; connoisseurs (*vicakṣaṇa* in the cited passages, but sc. *rasika*, *pramātr*, *sahṛdaya*) are moved by the expression of *bhāva* and *rasa*, and like to express their appreciation in the technical terminology of rhetoric; masters of the art, fellow artists, regard chiefly the drawing and technical skill in general; ordinary laymen like the bright colors, or marvel at the artist's dexterity.<sup>9</sup> Those who are in love are chiefly interested in portraiture reflecting all the charms (*kāntā*, *lāvanya*) of the original. Rarely do we meet with any mention of originality or novelty.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Ryder, in HOS IX. 44, renders admirably the substance of Cāradatta's remarks, but with a European nuance and avoiding all the technicalities. The *Mṛcchakaṭikā* passage is anticipated in a briefer form in Bhāsa's *Daṇḍina Cāradatta* II. 2.

<sup>9</sup> It is constantly brought out that craftsman and critic attach principal importance to the drawing, by which the moods are expressed, but that what the public cares about is color. As Binyon has observed, “The painting of Asia is throughout its main tradition an art of line.”

<sup>10</sup> The nearest to anything of this kind in connection with the formative arts occurs in *Jātaka* VI. 332, where the Bodhisattva employs a master-architect (*mahā-vaḍḍhaki*) to build a hall such as he requires.

The master architect does not grasp the Great Being's idea (*mahāsatta*-

We ought then, to appreciate Indian art from every point of view, to be equipped with learning, piety, sensibility, knowledge of technique, and simplicity; combining the qualities of the *paṇḍita*, the *bhakta*, the *ācārya*, and the *alpa-buddhi jana*.

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*cittaṁ na gaṇhati*), and when corrected, explains that he can work only according to the tradition of the craft (*sippānurūpeṇa*), and knows no other way (*aññatha na jānāmi*). The Bodhisattva himself then lays out the plan "as if Viśvakarma himself had done it." Even so, the form of the hall is determined entirely by the use to which it is to be put: the Bodhisattva's plan is not a personal whim or a piece of self-expression, it is simply that he knows better than the architect all that is present to the mind of the divine craftsman, the "All-maker."

This supernatural virtuosity of the Bodhisattva is described in the *Lalita Vistara*, Ch. XII; it is a command of the arts not acquired by study, *na ca . . . yogyā kṛtā . . . śilpakāśala* (Lefmann's ed., p. 156). Cf. Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra* VII. 6, where the sage (*dhīragata*, "who stands firm") is said to exhibit a threefold *nirmāṇa*, "manifestation" or "facility," the first of these being displayed in the field of art (*śilpa-karma-sthāna*). More fully in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, II, 71-72, Poussin, p. 320, virtuosity (*kuśala*) in art (*śilpa-sthāna*), is one of the four pure facilities exhibited by a perfected being on the sensible plane (*Kāmadhātu*). The same idea is expressed in another way by the attribution of an absolute *pramāṇa* to the perfected being (*ibid.*, VIII, 40, Poussin, pp. 222-225), the *pramāṇa* of others being as it were merely a "contingent norm", proper to be expressed in rules.

There are some minor references to originality in poetry. Thus, Ānandavardhana, commenting in the eighth century on the *Dhvanyālokalocana* (Chs. X, XI, see De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, II, p. 373) discussing plagiarism (*haraṇa*, "theft") at some length, says that the great poet (*mahākavi*) depicts something new (*nūtana*) in meaning and expression as well as what is old; and flagrant stealing (*pariharāṇa*) is called unpoetical or in-artistic, *akavitvadāyi*. An example occurs in the *Karpūramañjarī* III. 31, where the king compliments the heroine on her verses, remarking on her seizure (*daṁsana*) of new motifs (*nava-vastu*), varied vocabulary (*ukti-vicitratva*), and sense of beauty (*ramaṇiyatā*), and on the flow of *rasa*.

# A NORTH SYRIAN POEM ON THE CONQUEST OF DEATH

GEORGE A. BARTON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THIS POEM was discovered at Ras Shamra in 1930. It is written in the cuneiform alphabetic script first discovered in 1928, and deciphered by Professor H. Bauer of Halle and Père Paul Dhorme in 1929. The poem before us was published by Ch. Viroilleaud with transliteration and partial translation in *Syria* XII. 193-224 (1931), with further notes on pp. 350-357. Professor W. F. Albright has also published an account of the poem with translations of part of it in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 46 (April, 1932). In preparing the sixth edition of his *Archaeology and the Bible* the writer was led to study the document and is, he believes, able to throw light on some points not treated by his predecessors.

## Transliteration

- |                                |                         |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Col. i, 1. .... 'a 'al'eyn b'l | 22. d dq 'anm lyrf-     |
| 2. ... ḥḥ pšt bm '...          | 23. 'm b'l ly'db mrḥ    |
| 3. ... zrh ybm l'elm           | 24. 'm bn dgn ktm sm    |
| 4. [ed]k lttm pnm 'm           | 25. w(t)'n rbt 'ašrt ym |
| 5. el mbk nhrm qrb             | 26. blt nmlk 'štr 'rf   |
| 6. [a]pq thmtm tgly šd         | 27. ymlk 'štr 'rf       |
| 7. 'el wtb'é qrš               | 28. 'apnk 'štr 'rf      |
| 8. mlk 'ab šnm lpn             | 29. y'l bšrrt spn       |
| 9. 'el thbr wtql               | 30. yšb lkḥš 'al'eyn    |
| 10. tšthwy wtkbdnh             | 31. b'l pnh ltmšyn      |
| 11. tš'é gh wtšḥ tšmḥ ht       | 32. ḥdm r'ešh lymšy     |
| 12. 'ašrt wbnh 'elt wšb-       | 33. 'apsh wy'n 'štr 'rf |
| 13. rt 'aryh kmt 'aleyn        | 34. l'amlk bšrrt spn    |
| 14. b'l k ḥlq zbl b'l          | 35. yrd 'štr 'rf yrd    |
| 15. 'arš gm yšḥ 'el            | 36. lkḥš 'al'eyn b'l    |
| 16. lrbt 'ašrt ym šm'          | 37. wymlk b'arš 'el klh |
| 17. lrbt 'a [šrt y]m tn        | 38. ... š'abn brḥbt     |
| 18. 'aḥd b b[nk w] 'amlkn      | 39. .... š'abn bkknt    |
| 19. wt'n rbt 'ašrt ym          | ii, 1. l .....          |
| 20. bl nmlk yḏ ylh'n           | 2. wl .....             |
| 21. wy'n ltpn 'el d'e-         | 3. kd .....             |



4. *kd t- . . . . .*  
 5. *y'tqn k- . . . . .*  
 6. *tnḡšh klb 'a- . . . . .*  
 7. *l'glh klb š'a- . . . . .*  
 8. *l'emrh km lb 'n[t]*  
 9. *'ašr b'l t'ehd m[t]*  
 10. *bs'en lpš tšsq[h]*  
 11. *bqš 'all tšé gh wtš-*  
 12. *h 'at mt tn 'ahy*  
 13. *w'n bn 'elm mt mh*  
 14. *t'aršn lbtlt 'nt*  
 15. *'an 'etlk w'ašd kl*  
 16. *šr lkbd 'arš kl gb'*  
 17. *lkbd šdm npš hšrt*  
 18. *bn nšm npš hmlt*  
 19. *'arš mšt ln'my 'arš*  
 20. *đbr ysmt šd šhl mmt*  
 21. *ngš 'ank 'al'eyn b'l*  
 22. *'dbnn 'ank 'emr bpy*  
 23. *kl'e bšbr ngy ht'éh w-*  
 24. *nrt 'elm špš šhrrt*  
 25. *l'ašmm byd bn 'elm mt*  
 26. *ym ymm y'tqn lymm*  
 27. *lyrhym rhm 'nt tnḡšh*  
 28. *klb 'arh l'glh klb*  
 29. *š'at l'emrh km lb*  
 30. *'nt 'ašr b'l t'ehd*  
 31. *bn 'elm mt bhrb*  
 32. *tbq'nn bhšr tdry-*  
 33. *nn b'ešt tšrpnn*  
 34. *brhm tšhnn bšd*  
 35. *tđr'nn š'erh lt'ekl*  
 36. *'šrm mnth ltkly*  
 37. *npr [š]'er lš'er- yšh*  
 iii . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 1. *khlq mt . . . . .*  
 2. *whm hy 'a[l'eyn] . . . . .*  
 3. *whm 'eš zbl b'[l] . . . . .*  
 4. *bhlm ltpn 'el dp'ed*  
 5. *bšrt bny bnwt*  
 6. *šmm šmn tmtrn*  
 7. *nhlm tlk nbtm*  
 8. *w'eđ k hy 'al'eyn b'l*  
 9. *k 'eš zbl b'l 'arš*  
 10. *bhlm ltpn 'el dp'ed*  
 11. *bšrt bny bnwt*  
 12. *šmm šmn tmtr[n]*  
 13. *nhlm tlk nbtm*  
 14. *šmh ltpn 'el dp'ed*  
 15. *fnh lhdm yšpd*  
 16. *wyprq lšb wyšhq*  
 17. *yš'é gh wyšh*  
 18. *'ašbn 'ank w'anhn*  
 19. *wtnh b'arty npš*  
 20. *k hy 'al'eyn b'l*  
 21. *k 'eš zbl b'l 'arš*  
 22. *gm yšh 'el lbtlt*  
 23. *'nt šm' lbtlt 'n[t]*  
 24. *rgm lnrt 'el špš*  
 iv, 25. *pl 'nt šdm yšpš . . .*  
 26. *pl 'nt šdm 'el yštk . . .*  
 27. *b'l 'nt mhršt*  
 28. *'ey 'al'eyn b'l*  
 29. *'ey zbl b'l 'arš*  
 30. *ttb' btl't 'nt*  
 31. *'edk lttm pnm*  
 32. *'m nrt 'elm špš*  
 33. *tšé gh wtšh*  
 34. *tšm šr 'el 'abk*  
 35. *hwt ltpn htk . .*  
 36. *pl 'nt šdm yšpš*  
 37. *pl 'nt šdm 'el y[štk]*  
 38. *b'l 'nt mhršh*  
 39. *'ey 'al'eyn b'l*  
 40. *'ey zbl b'l 'arš*  
 41. *wt'n nrt 'elm š[pš]*  
 42. *šdyn 'n b qbt*  
 43. *b'elyt l'émthk*  
 44. *w'abqš 'al'eyn b'l*

45. *w't'n b'tlt 'nt*  
 46. *'an l'an yšpš*  
 47. *'an l'an 'el yq[r'a]*  
 48. *tšrk š[pš] .....*  
 49. *yštd .....*  
 50. *..r.....*  
 51. *w(?).....*
- v, 1. *y'eħd b'l bn 'ašrt*  
 2. *rbm ymħš bktf*  
 3. *dkym ymħš bšmd*  
 4. *šhr mt ymš'e l'arš*  
 5. *..... š lks'e mlkh*  
 6. *..... lkħš drkh*  
 7. *ymm....lyrħmlyrħm*  
 8. *lšnm....bšb'*  
 9. *šnt wrk bn 'e(l)m mt*  
 10. *'m 'al'eyn b'l ys'é*  
 11. *gh wyšh 'lk b...m*  
 12. *pht qlt 'lk pht*  
 13. *dry bħrb 'lk*  
 14. *pht šrp b('e)št*  
 15. *'lk [pht] ... -ħn brh-  
 16. *m 'lk pht ... ħ brbrt*  
 17. *'lk ph[t] .... šħ....*  
 18. *bšdm 'lk pht*  
 19. *dr' bym ... n r...*  
 20. *b'aħr hspn wyšb-*  
 21. *'ak dnr ..... 'em*  
 22. *'eħd bn 'elm 'a...*  
 23. *'en 'ahf.....*  
 24. *..tm 'akl.....*  
 25. *..kly hml.....*  
 26. *w....l 'a.....*  
 27. *š.....*  
 28. *bl.....**
- vi, 1. *.....-rdh*  
 2. *.....ršh*
3. *..... ké*  
 4. *..... p*  
 5. *..... mt*  
 6. *..... mr l'em*  
 7. *..... [b]n 'elm mt*  
 8. *..... 'é šb't šlmh*  
 9. *..... bn 'elm mt*  
 10. *phn 'ahym ytn b'l*  
 11. *lp'éy bnm 'émy klyy*  
 12. *yšb 'm b'l šrrt*  
 13. *špn yš'é gh wyšh*  
 14. *'ahym ytn b'l*  
 15. *lp'éy bnm 'émy kl-*  
 16. *yy y't'n kgmrm*  
 17. *mt 'z b'l 'z yngħn*  
 18. *kr'émm mt 'z b'l*  
 19. *'z ynškn kbšnm*  
 20. *mt 'z b'l 'z ymšħn*  
 21. *klsmm mt ql*  
 22. *b'l ql 'ln špš*  
 23. *tšh lmt šm' mt*  
 24. *lbn 'elm mt 'ek tmth-*  
 25. *š 'm 'al'eyn b'l*  
 26. *'ek 'al yšm'k šr*  
 27. *'el 'abk l ys' 'alt*  
 28. *šbtk lyhpk ks'a mlkk*  
 29. *lyšbr ħt mšpšk*  
 30. *yrd bn 'elmt št' y-*  
 31. *dd 'el šzr y'r mt*  
 32. *bqlh y'a .....*  
 33. *b'l yššbn .....*  
 34. *mlkh lr .....*  
 35. *'érkth .....*  
 36. *.....*  
 37. *.....n.....*  
 38. *..... n hn.....*  
 39. *.....šnt.....*  
 40. *.....'a.....*

*Translation*

- Col. i, 1. " . . . . Alein, the lord <sup>1</sup> . . . .  
 2. . . . . linen on him . . . . .  
 3. his . . . . he will make tall for the gods"  
 4. Then indeed she set her face toward  
 5. El, who purifies the rivers in the midst  
 6. of the clefts of the two abysses, and she explored the field  
 7. of El, and she entered the courts  
 8. of the king, the father of years.<sup>2</sup> Before  
 9. El she performed a purifying rite(?) and hastened,  
 10. she prostrated herself and honored him.  
 11. She lifted her voice and cried; she,  
 12. Asherat and her son rejoiced; (also), Elat and the  
 13. band of her retainers(?): "How has Alein  
 14. the lord died? How perished Zebul, lord  
 15. of the earth?" El also cried  
 16. to the lady Asherat of the sea: "Hearken,  
 17. O lady Asherat of the sea, give  
 18. one of thy sons(?) that I may make him king."  
 19. The lady Asherat of the sea answered,  
 20. "No: we must make one king who knows how to rule(?)."  
 21. Then answered the beneficent one, the god Ded  
 22. "He who thrusts down created things can raise  
 23. them up; the lord will open(?) the storehouse(?)  
 24. for the son of Dagan to hide there."  
 25. The lady Asherat of the sea answered,  
 26. "No: we will make Ashtar, the wise, king.  
 27. Ashtar the wise shall reign.  
 28. I will turn Ashtar, the wise, to thee;  
 29. he shall go up to the cold places of the north;  
 30. he shall sit on the throne of Alein,  
 31. the lord; his face thou shalt scan;  
 32. the form,—his head shall be seen,—  
 33. the whole of him." Then Ashtar, the wise, answered,  
 34. "Verily I will be king in the cold places of the north."  
 35. Ashtar, the wise, went down, he went down  
 36. to the ancient abode of Alein, the lord,

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<sup>1</sup> Literally, *baal*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare "The Ancient of days", Dan. 7: 9, 13, and 22.

37. and he ruled in the land of El, all of it;
  38. .... (in) the broad places(?) and squares
  39. .... in the .....
- ii.
1. To .....
  2. and to .....
  3. a water-jar .....
  4. a water-jar she .....
  5. he brought the water-jar(?) ..... (Anath)
  6. approached a wandering(?) dog .....
  7. the dog hunted her calf (and)
  8. her lamb. As the heart of Anath
  9. was the place of the Lord. She seized Moth,<sup>3</sup>
  10. with a sandal for a weapon(?) she smote(?) him;
  11. in the utterance of a curse she raised her voice and
  12. cried, "Thou, Moth, give me my brother."
  13. And Moth, son of the gods answered, "What
  14. dost thou wish, O virgin Anath?
  15. Surely I will go and drive every
  16. mountain into the midst of the earth, every hill
  17. into the midst of the fields. Breath is restrained from
  18. the sons of women; breath has been cut off
  19. from the earth. At my pleasure the earth has become
  20. a wilderness which will continually devour the field as  
a lion kills
  21. prey. As to me, Alein, the lord,
  22. the blameless one, even to me is a lamb in my mouth:
  23. all of him is for the crushing of my jaws—his destruc-  
tion(?); and
  24. the light of the gods, Shephesh, is dust
  25. of the fleshless in the hand of the son of the gods, Moth".
  26. Day followed days to days,
  27. to months. The love of Anath overtook him—
  28. the dog who hunted her calf, the dog
  29. who pursued her lamb. As the heart of
  30. Anath was the place of the lord. She seized
  31. the son of the gods, Moth, with a sword
  32. she split him open, she sifted him in the sieve,
  33. in the fire she burned him,

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<sup>3</sup> *I. e.*, death, personified as a god.

- 34. in the mill she ground him, in the field
- 35. she sowed his flesh, that the birds
- 36. might eat and his fate be completed.
- 37. A piece of flesh cried to the flesh,

iii (At the beginning of this column some lines are broken away. Those that remain are numbered consecutively.)

- 1. Like the perishing of Moth . . . . .
  - 2. and he, A(lein, the lord), lives,
  - 3. and he, Zebul, lord (of the earth), exists.
  - 4. In a favorable dream El-Deped (heard):
  - 5. "Good tidings, O my son (whom) I have borne,
  - 6. the heavens shall rain oil,
  - 7. the valleys shall flow with honey,
  - 8. and I know that Alein, the lord, lives,
  - 9. and that Zebul, lord of the earth, exists."
  - 10. In a favorable dream El-Deped (heard):
  - 11. "Good tidings, O my son (whom) I have borne,
  - 12. the heavens shall rain oil,
  - 13. the valleys shall flow with honey."
  - 14. The good omen made El-Deped glad;
  - 15. his face used to be sad with grief,
  - 16. but he put away grief and laughed.
  - 17. he lifted up his voice and cried:
  - 18. "I will sit down and rest
  - 19. and my soul shall rest in my breast,
  - 20. because Alein, the lord, lives,
  - 21. because Zebul, lord of the earth, exists."
  - 22. Also the god cried to the virgin
  - 23. Anath: "Hear, O virgin Anath,
  - 24. the cry of the light of the gods, Shephesh.
- iv, 25. Come down, O Anath; the fields shall cause life to be.
- 26. Come down, O Anath; the fields El shall break up.
  - 27. O Lord, Anath is the one who ploughs.
  - 28. Where is Alein, the lord?
  - 29. Where is Zebul, lord of the earth?"
  - 30. The virgin Anath strode in,
  - 31. while she turned her face
  - 32. to the light of the gods, Shephesh,

33. she lifted up her voice and cried:
  34. "Thou givest heat to the bull of the god, thy father;
  35. thou hast been the help (?) of the villagers (?), (saying):
  36. 'come down, O Anath, the fields shall cause life to be.
  37. come down, O Anath, the fields El shall break up.
  38. O lord, Anath is the one who ploughs.
  39. Where is Alein, the lord?
  40. Where is Zebul, lord of the earth?"
  41. Then answered the light of the gods, Shephesh,
  42. "Answer, O our fields, to the vaulted dome,<sup>4</sup>
  43. to the height with thy faithfulness,
  44. and I will seek Alein, the lord."
  45. Then answered the virgin Anath,
  46. "Where, O where shall he cause life to be?
  47. Where, O where, shall god call?
  48. Thou criest, O Shephesh .....
  49. .... shall make soft (?) .....
  50. .... "
  51. ....
- v, 1. The lord, the son of Asherat seized
2. the great ones, he smote upon the shoulder
  3. of the oppressed, he smote upon the yoke
  4. of pale Moth, he touched the earth,
  5. .... the throne of its king,
  6. .... the failure of his way,
  7. the days (?) .. to the months, to the months,
  8. to the years (up to) seven
  9. years; afterward (?) the son of the gods, Moth,
  10. unto Alein, the lord, shall lift up
  11. his voice and cry, "From upon thee by ....<sup>5</sup>
  12. thou hast removed the curse; from upon thee my house
  13. thou hast removed by the sword; from upon thee
  14. thou hast removed the corruption by fire;
  15. from upon thee (thou hast removed) the ..... by
  - the mill;
  16. from upon thee thou hast removed the ..... by
  - nobility;

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<sup>4</sup> *I. e.*, the sky.

<sup>5</sup> There are many gaps in the text due to the crumbling of the clay of the tablet.

17. from upon thee thou hast removed .....
  18. by the fields; from upon thee thou hast removed
  19. the coat of mail(?) by the sea .....
  20. After the concealment
  21. shall bring thee in ..... (as)
  22. a son of the gods(?) .....
- (The rest of the column is too broken for translation,  
as are also the first four lines of column vi.)

- vi, 5. .... Moth
6. .... to the mother(?)
  7. .... the son of the gods, Moth,
  8. .... his seven coverings
  9. .... son of the gods, Moth.
10. Released(?) are the brothers. The lord shall grant
  11. to overtake(?) the sons, O my mother, my longed for  
ones.
  12. They shall inhabit with the lord the cold regions
  13. of the north. He shall lift up his voice and cry,
  14. "O brothers, I the lord have placed
  15. before me the sons of my mother, my longed for
  16. ones." They shall answer as the Gomerites (answered)
  17. Moth, "The strength of the Lord is strength that will  
gore
  18. Moth like wild oxen; the strength of the lord
  19. is strength that will bite Moth like
  20. vipers(?); the strength of the lord is strength that will
  21. tear out(?) Moth like wild-horses. The voice
  22. of the lord is the voice over us." Shephesh
  23. cried to Moth, "Hear, O Moth,
  24. son of the gods, Moth, wilt thou indeed fight(?)
  25. with Alein, the lord?
  26. Indeed there will not hear thee the bull,
  27. the god, thy father. Verily he will tear out the pillar(?)
  28. of thy dwelling; verily he will overturn the throne of  
thy kingdom;
  29. verily he will break the scepter of thy rule!"
  30. The son of the gods, Moth, went down to defeat:
  31. he loved the god Šezer(?) Moth bleated
  32. with his voice, he .....
  33. The lord will make us dwell .....

34. his king for lord (?) .....

35. his restoration ..... ”

(The few remaining characters that are legible are not susceptible of connected translation.)

The seven barriers which Alein is compelled to remove from himself in coming to life suggest a parallelism between this poem and “Ishtar’s Descent”. If that parallelism is real, it may well be that we shall sometime find on another tablet the first part of the story, telling how Moth overcame Alein and drove him down to the underworld.

However that may be, it is clear that we have here a form of the story of Adonis centuries earlier than that given us by Lucian.<sup>6</sup> In later time the god was called Adon (Greek, Adonis), “Lord”; in our poem he is also called “Lord”, though the word employed is the synonym Baal. That the reference is to an earlier form of the same story is further made probable by the phrase *’apq thmtm*, “cleft of the two abysses” in col. i, 6, since the word for “cleft” is the word which gave the name Aphek (Josh. 13:4), the Aphaca of Lucian. “Under the towering crests of Lebanon .... beneath a low natural bridge and a cave a great spring bursts forth in the stream bed. The road winds through pines along a terrace and comes to a second cave and a second spring with beautiful waterfalls. Facing them on a bluff, from which a third spring gushes forth through a tunnel, are the ruins of Aphek.”<sup>7</sup> “The cleft of the two abysses” reminds one of the phrase in Psalm 42 descriptive of the rushing waters bursting from the springs which form the beginnings of the Jordan: “*tehom* calls to *tehom*”.

The deities of the pantheon of the poem throw a flood of light on the West Semitic religion of this early time.

### Philological Notes

Col. i, 2. *pst*; Heb. פשתל “flax, linen”.

3. *ybm*: perhaps from בָּמַי from which the Heb. בָּמַי is supposed to come; cf. Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

4. *ltn*: fem. sg. imper. of the Phoenician *ytn*, equivalent to the Heb. לָתַן. The *l* is asseverative as in Arabic and Assyrian.

5. *mbk* is clearly a participle. Virolleaud thinks it a scribal error for *mbr*—*r* and *k* being easily confused in this script. This seems probable.

<sup>6</sup> Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, §§ 6-9.

<sup>7</sup> A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, N. Y., 1931, p. 70.



7. *grs*: cf. the Heb. גָּרָשׁ, a "board" or "joint".
9. *thbr*: fem. Hiphil of BRR. It is noteworthy that the *h* of the Hiphil is not assimilated.
10. *tsthwy*: — a familiar Hebrew form. In *wtkbđnh* note the presence of the Energetic *n*. The form appears frequently in subsequent verbs.
11. *ht* appears to be a form of the independent pronoun of the 3rd person.
20. *ylhn*: cf. the Arabic لهن.
21. *ltpn*: cf. the Arabic لطف.
22. *'anm*; cf. the Arabic إنا, "men, mankind, created beings".
23. *y'db*: the Arabic عذب means, in some connections, "stab, pierce".  
*mrh*: cf. the Ar. مَرَحَة, "a storehouse".
30. *khš*: as Virolleaud has noted, this is a synonym of *ks'e*, "throne".
31. *ltymšyn*; cf. the Assyrian *mašu*, "find".
- ii, 5. *y'tqn*; cf. the Assyrian *etequ*. The form here I take for a *piel*.
9. *'ašr*: Virolleaud and Albright equate this with the Assyrian *eširtu*, "shrine". It seems more natural to compare it with Assyr. *ašru*, "place".
10. *tšqgh*: a shaphel of צָוֶק, "oppress, bring into straits".
11. *bqš*: from צָוֶק.  
*'all*: cf. the Assyrian *alu*, "curse".
18. *hmlt*: hophal perf. fem. 3rd per. from מָוִל.
19. *mst*: cf. the Assyrian *mašu*. Perhaps it would be more accurate to render: "has been found a wilderness".
23. *nqy*: cf. the Arabic نَقَا, "a marrowy bone".  
*št'ehw*: cf. the Arabic صَنَا.
24. *špš* is a shaphel formation from a verb *nāphash*, "breathe". Shephesh is, accordingly, the deity that causes breath of life. From the verbal construction of vi, 22, 23 Shephesh was a goddess. Professor Montgomery calls my attention to the fact that in another tablet Shephesh is equated with the moon and is accordingly in all probability the sun. Shephesh is, then, an epithet of Shamash.  
*šhrrt*: cf. the Arabic صَحَر, which, in stem xi, means "dry up, become yellow".
25. *lašmm*: cf. the Arabic اظمى, which may mean "bloodless, fleshless".
- iii, 4. *ltpn*: cf. Arabic لطف.
7. *nbtm*: the determination of this by comparison with the Assyrian. *nubtu* is due to Albright's insight.
15. *lhd m*; cf. Ar. هدم.

- iv, 25. Virolleaud numbers the columns, in what he marks as col. iii and col. iv, consecutively. I have followed his notation, not knowing, if it is a mistake, how to correct it.
30. *tib'*: cf. Assy. *tibū*. Perhaps we should here translate "rose up".
37. *yšk*: shaphel of *nātāk*.
42. *bqbt*: *qbt* is identical in use with the same root in the familiar phrase *qubbat es-ṣaḥra*, "Dome of the Rock"—the Arabic name of the Mosque of Omar. Here the "vaulted dome" is figuratively applied to heaven. The fields are called upon to answer to heaven as in Hosea 2: 21, 22. The passage appears to be a part of an incantation-ritual employed annually, to insure good crops.
46. *yšpš*: shaphel of the verb *nāphāsh*.
- v, 9. *wrk*: cf. the Assyrian *arku*.
10. *pht* I take to be a mediae geminatae verb פתה, the root from which פה, "mouth", comes. The mouth is an opening; the verb would naturally mean, therefore, "open". I infer that, like the Assyrian *paṭaru* and the Hebrew פתח, it could be used figuratively of removing curses, death spells, finding the answers to riddles, etc.
- 12-18. In lines 12-18 Moth declares to Alein that he has removed seven things which held him in the grave. This reminds one of the seven gates through which Ishtar came as she emerged from the underworld, at each one of which an article of her clothing or adornment was restored to her. This analogy makes one suspect that the text which we have is the second tablet of a series, and that, if we had the whole of it, a similar poem would describe how Moth overcame Alein and placed these curses and barriers upon him, thus furnishing an analogy to the first part of "Ishtar's Descent".
16. *brbt*: I take this for a shortened form of *rbrbt*.
13. *dry*; cf. Arabic جاف.
- vi, 8. *šlmh*: Albright connects this with the Arabic *ṣalim*, "male ostrich". I take it as a plural of *šillu*, Arabic ظل, "shade, covering", and take it as reference to the seven curses and barriers which had kept Alein for a time among the dead.
19. *kbšnm*: literally, "like Bashans". It is clear, however, that here *bšnm* must be some kind of a biting animal.
21. *lsmm*: as Albright has noted, the word is the same as the Assyrian *lasmu*, "a galloping or fiery steed".
27. *lys'*: imperfect of *ns'*, the west Semitic equivalent of the Assyrian *nasahu*.
30. *št'*: a shaphel formation from a mediae geminatae stem; cf. Arabic شت.
31. *šzr*: — a name unknown to me. The reading of the last radical is uncertain.
- y'r*: a perfect form; cf. Arabic يعر.
35. *'érkth*; cf. the Hebrew ארונה, "restoration".

# THE CHRONOLOGY OF ANCIENT CHINA

C. W. BISHOP

FREER GALLERY OF ART, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

## I

THERE ARE two systems of reckoning ancient Chinese dates. One of these, accepted as official and "orthodox", we owe to the *Ch'ien han shu* or "History of the Former Han Dynasty," by Pan Ku 班固 (d. 92 A. D.). The other is that given in the *Chu shu chi nien* or "Annals of the Bamboo Books," found in a tomb in 280 or 281 A. D. and believed to have been compiled in the feudal state of Wei 魏 early in the third century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The dates given by these two systems coincide from the late ninth century B. C. onward. The further back we go before that period, the more do they tend to diverge. Thus Pan Ku puts the accession of the first Chou king<sup>2</sup> in 1122 B. C., but the "Bamboo Books" in 1050 B. C. The commencement of the Shang Dynasty<sup>3</sup> they respectively refer to 1766 B. C., and to 1558 B. C., that of the Hsia to 2205 B. C. and 1989 B. C. Nevertheless the two systems are in substantial agreement, their divergences, even for the earliest periods, amounting to only a few centuries.

It should be noted, moreover, as a significant fact, that they claim for the Chinese civilization no such fabulous antiquity as is attributed, for example, by the Weld-Blundell prism to that of ancient Sumer; its beginnings are, on the contrary, ascribed only to the third millenium B. C.

Pan Ku's chronology must have had some definite foundation,

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<sup>1</sup> There have been recent attempts to show that the "Bamboo Books" are of much later date. There is no doubt that they have been subjected to redactions and revisions; but the evidence of archaeology, ethnology, and chronology is overwhelmingly in favor of their being substantially what they claim to be—the version of the ancient history of China accepted in the state of Wei in the third century B. C.

<sup>2</sup> The title which we translate as "emperor" was only assumed by the rulers of China from the latter part of the third century B. C.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the Shang 商 Dynasty was changed to Yin 殷 in the time of P'an K'eng 盤庚, who ruled, according to the "Bamboo Books," 1315-1288 B. C. I have however retained the earlier designation throughout in order to avoid confusion.

whether traditional or documentary, though what it was we do not know. The "Bamboo Books," on the other hand, are in a measure confirmed by Ssü-ma Ch'ien's *Shih chi* (ca. 100 B. C.).<sup>4</sup> These two, in turn are supported in certain respects by the inscriptions on bone and tortoise-shell, of late Shang date (i. e., latter part of the second millenium B. C.), which have been unearthed during recent years near An-yang, in Honan. The correspondence between these three entirely independent sources is too close not to have had a documentary basis of some kind. Hence we may assume provisionally that their dates are nearer the truth than the official ones, which moreover do not appear until the first century A. D., and which lack any independent confirmation.<sup>5</sup>

The ancient Chinese had no era or eponymate—nothing corresponding to the Assyrian *limmu* lists, the Greek Olympiads, or the Roman consulships. Until the close of the feudal period, dates were reckoned in years of the reigns of local princes. Nor can any great dependence be placed upon the mention of eclipses in the the ancient texts; for some at least of these are more than suspected of being late interpolations dating from a time when Chinese astronomers had learned how to calculate them backward.<sup>6</sup> Hence in attempting to establish a tentative chronology for ancient China we must proceed by a method of "dead reckoning", supplemented by such archaeological and other data as are now available.

## II

One of the most important elements in the archaic Chinese culture was the practice of ancestor worship by the ruling classes.<sup>7</sup> Pedigrees were kept in this connection with scrupulous care. Hence

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<sup>4</sup> The edition of the *Shih chi* from which I have taken my citations is that of the Chin Ling 金陵 (i. e., Nanking) Book-shop, begun in the fifth year of T'ung Chih 同治 (1866) and completed in the ninth year of the same (1870).

<sup>5</sup> The chronology of the *T'ung chien kang mu* 通鑑綱目, a work of the twelfth century A. D., agrees in the main with that of Pan Ku, but is apparently based upon it; hence it can hardly be regarded as an independent authority.

<sup>6</sup> Marcel Granet, *Chinese Civilization*, London, 1930, p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> Ancestor worship and the patriarchal organization in general seem not to have been adopted by the Chinese plebeians until around the close of the feudal period.

an analytical study of the genealogies of the princely houses should prove of value in illuminating our problem.

Before determining the average length of reigns in ancient China, let us see what has been their duration in other lands under social and political conditions resembling those which prevailed during the Chinese feudal period. Now over various realms of continental Europe—the Holy Roman Empire, France, Aragon, Castile, Bohemia, and Hungary—there ruled, between the ninth and the sixteenth centuries A. D., 125 princes, whose combined reigns amounted to 2658 years. This gives us an average of almost exactly twenty-one years and three months. For comparison with this figure, we may now ascertain the average duration of the reigns of the Chinese princes from the ninth century B. C., when the true historical period began, down to the end of feudal times, in the late third century B. C.

Table Two, in Chapter XIV of the *Shih chi*, is entitled "The Years of the Twelve Princely Houses,"<sup>8</sup> although in reality it speaks of thirteen of these.<sup>9</sup> They are as follows: Lu 魯, Ch'i 齊, Chin 晉, Ch'in 秦, Ch'u 楚, Sung 宋, Wei 衛, Ch'ên 陳, Ts'ai 蔡, Ts'ao 曹, Chêng 鄭, Yen 燕, and Wu 吳. To these thirteen lines we may add those of Han 韓, Wei 魏, and Chao 趙, the three succession-states into which Chin was divided in the fifth century B. C. We may also include those kings of the Chou 周 Dynasty who can be historically dated, from the ninth century B. C. down to 256 B. C., when the line came to an end.

There were in all, in these seventeen ruling lines, 382 princes, whose combined reigns came to 7512 years. This gives us, for the reigns of the Chinese feudal period, nineteen years and eight months as the average duration. Compared with those of feudal Europe, of slightly over twenty-one years, this figure assures us that the Chinese chronology is well within the limits of historical probability.

True, the averages for a very few of the ancient Chinese states, computed separately, fall rather below this figure. That for Wu 吳, especially, is barely in excess of sixteen years. But only the

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<sup>8</sup> 十二諸侯年表第二.

<sup>9</sup> For a plausible explanation of this discrepancy, cf. Edouard Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. III, p. 15, n. 1.

last seven of the rulers of that state can be historically dated; and of these seven the reigns of several were cut short, by assassination, suicide, or death in battle. However, the total existence of Wu as an independent state after the opening of its historical period was so brief (113 years) that its admission into our calculations affects them scarcely at all. Hence we may accept the figure of twenty years as in round numbers the average length of a reign in ancient China.

### III

Let us now utilize the average thus obtained in trying to compute the approximate date when the Chou, invaders from the north-west, established themselves in the Chinese area. We may premise, however, that their conquest was not the result of a single battle, as stated by the "orthodox" accounts. On the contrary, it must have occupied a considerable period, perhaps of years; for Mencius tells us that before it was completed, the Chou had reduced to submission fifty states.<sup>10</sup>

The history of the early Chou was transmitted to later times not in the form of archives, but under the guise of poetical traditions.<sup>11</sup> The *Shih chi* tells us, for example, that "the bards celebrated the Hsi Po";<sup>12</sup> and many of the poems in the "Book of Odes" relate to the early days of the Chou. Not a few of the statements which have thus come down to us are obviously unhistorical, although not wildly so. For example, we are told that the founder of the Chou line, Wu Wang 武王, was eighty-seven when he overthrew the last of the Shang kings. He dies at the age of ninety-three, leaving his throne to a son who is only thirteen, but who has at least one brother still younger than himself. A later king, Mu Wang 穆王, dies at one hundred and four, while his son and successor falls in love at seventy-two. The cautious and critical author of the *Shih chi* rightly refused to accept as historical any date prior to 841 B. C.,<sup>13</sup> and in this we may safely follow him.

It is quite likely that the official archives perished in 771 B. C.,

<sup>10</sup> Mencius, III, ii, 9 (6).

<sup>11</sup> Cf., e. g., Granet, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. IV, fol. 5-b: 詩人道西伯. The Hsi Po, or "lord of the western marches," was the father of the founder of the Chou Dynasty; he is more commonly known as Wên Wang 文王.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Chavannes, op. cit., vols. I, Introd., p. cxcvi, and III, p. 29, n. 1.

when the Chou capital was sacked and burned and the dynasty itself was forced to flee eastward before an attack by the Ch'üan Jung 犬戎, a non-Chinese people of the northwest. Nevertheless the worship of the royal ancestors continued, and for its purposes a list of the former kings must have been preserved.

Now the *Shih chi* tells us<sup>14</sup> that there were fourteen *shih* 世<sup>15</sup> from the beginning of the Chou Dynasty to the fall of the Western Chou, which we know took place in 771 B. C. Ordinarily, *shih* means a generation—a period of thirty years, according to the Chinese computation. But  $14 \times 30 = 420$  years, which added to 771 would place the coming of the Chous in 1191 B. C., an impossibly early date by any system of reckoning. Sometimes, however, the word *shih* is used, as the context shows, for *reigns*; and that appears to be the case here. The number of kings of the Chou Dynasty who ruled before 771 B. C. is usually given as twelve, not fourteen. Possibly two names have dropped out. Be that as it may, fourteen reigns, at our average figure of twenty years, would mean a period of 280 years. This added to 771, would place the overthrow of the Shang in 1051 B. C., almost precisely the year given in the "Bamboo Books".

According to Pan Ku, the accession of the second Chou King, Ch'êng Wang 成王, occurred in 1115 B. C. The "Bamboo Books" assign it to 1044 B. C., and with the latter date the *Shih chi* appears to be in agreement.<sup>16</sup> Hence we may infer that Ssü-ma Ch'ien believed the Chou conquest to have taken place about the middle of the eleventh century B. C.

Another computation brings us to much the same result. The names of ten rulers of the Chou line, besides an interregnum of fifteen years, are ascribed, in the official list, to the period prior to 827 B. C. If we apply our average figure and add the period of the interregnum, we obtain the year 1042 B. C. as the date of the Chou conquest. It was, however, probably a little earlier; for our sources agree in ascribing to the second and fifth kings of that line reigns

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<sup>14</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. XXVIII, fol. 2-b.

<sup>15</sup> The character 世 is composed of three tens combined; its normal meaning, though by no means its only one, is a generation of thirty years. Cf. Bernhard Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1923, under No. 886.

<sup>16</sup> Chavannes, op. cit., vol. I, Introd., p. xciii.

of thirty-seven and fifty-five years respectively, which would of course raise our average in this instance.

Mencius, whose works disclose on almost every page a familiarity with authentic traditions or records which have in many cases since perished, says that "from the coming of the Chou until the present, more than 700 years have elapsed."<sup>17</sup> As he wrote about 300 B. C., this implies some date rather before 1000 B. C., and is to that extent in agreement with the "Bamboo Books".

Hence all in all it would seem probable—in fact almost definitely determined—that the founding of the Chou Dynasty took place during the middle of the eleventh century B. C.

#### IV

Let us see now what we can learn regarding the chronology of the early Chou period from a scrutiny of the lists of rulers of the various feudal principalities. That these lists became continuous and reliable during the middle of the ninth century B. C., there is no question. At that time a great revolution, both in politics and in letters, took place throughout the Chinese culture-area. The latter, so far as the ruling classes were concerned, appears to have been fairly homogeneous even then. The custom of keeping archives arose everywhere not far from the same time—in most of the states, it would almost seem, within a single decade. Such a simultaneous development implies both freedom and frequency of intercourse throughout the entire area. It was probably facilitated by a notable diffusion of the art of writing which occurred about that time.<sup>18</sup> It is not unlikely too that the custom of keeping local archives was due in a measure to the weakening of the royal authority which took place during the middle of the ninth century B. C. For such a condition would naturally be connected, whether as cause or as effect, with a manifestation of increased self-assertion on the part of the feudatories.

The periods of state-founding are best studied in tabular form.

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<sup>17</sup> Mencius, II, ii, 13 (4).

<sup>18</sup> The tales about the invention of the script known as the Ta Chuan 大篆 or "Greater Seal" character by Shih Chou 史籀 toward the latter part of the ninth century are legendary; the Ta Chuan was in reality a gradual development out of the script employed previously. Nevertheless the art of writing received some great impetus about that time.



We may omit from the list of princely houses given in the *Shih chi* those of Chêng and of Wu; for the former was not founded until about the beginning of the eighth century B. C.—too late for our purpose; while the latter presents special problems of its own, a discussion of which we may defer for a moment.

TABLE OF REIGNS <sup>19</sup>

Name of State	Beginning of its Historical Period	Number of Previous Reigns	Approximate Date of Founding
1. Lu	855 B. C.	8	1015 B. C.
2. Sung	858 "	7	998 "
3. Ch'u	847 "	9	1027 "
4. Ch'i	850 "	7	990 "
5. Ch'in <sup>20</sup>	821 "	9	1001 "
6. Wei	854 "	8	1014 "
7. Yen	864 "	8	1024 "
1. Ch'ên	854 B. C.	5	954 B. C.
2. Ts'ai	863 "	5	963 "
3. Ts'ao	864 "	5	964 "
4. Chin <sup>21</sup>	858 "	5	958 "

From the above table it would appear that the states fell into two categories—first, seven founded toward or around the end of the eleventh century B. C., presumably as a direct and immediate result of the Chou conquest; and secondly, four established just prior to the middle of the tenth century B. C.

The study of the genealogies of the Polynesian ruling class has shown in striking fashion how accurately such lists may be kept, for many centuries, and that too without any knowledge of writing. In ancient China the preservation of pedigrees was con-

<sup>19</sup> The data utilized in the compilation of this table are taken for the most part from Chavannes, op. cit., vol. III, pp. 30 ff. The beginnings of the reigns falling nearest to 841 B. C. are taken as marking the opening of the historical period in the respective states, with the exception of Ch'in.

<sup>20</sup> The ruler of Ch'in did not become a tenant-in-chief of the Chou king until 769 B. C., just after the removal of the dynasty eastward.

<sup>21</sup> The state of Chin claimed to have been founded by a younger brother of the second Chou king; but there are reasons for thinking that the royal power was not extended over the basin of the lower Fên Ho 汾河 until two or three generations later.

sidered vital to the correct performance of the rites of ancestor worship; for deceased rulers received honors varying in degree according to their remoteness. Hence it is likely that during the interval of slightly over two hundred years between the founding of the Chou Dynasty and the beginning of the full historical period—at a time, too, when writing had long been known—the princely genealogies were preserved very nearly intact.

Mencius, it is true, tells us that the princes had before his time destroyed records injurious or derogatory to themselves.<sup>22</sup> It is extremely improbable, however, that they treated their pedigrees with anything but the most religious care; for tampering with these might bring down upon them the wrath of their departed ancestors. Hence we may place considerable reliance on the lists of princes who reigned over the Chinese feudal states prior to the middle of the ninth century B. C.

It is of course not impossible that a few names may have dropped out from the lists as we have them now; in some instances, indeed, it seems certain that this has happened. But that it has occurred to any considerable extent is unlikely. The number of undated reigns in our first group, of seven states, varies within such narrow limits—from seven to nine—that an approximately identical foundation-period for all is pretty clearly indicated. In our second group the number is the same for all; each state shows just five reigns between its founding and the middle of the ninth century B. C., so that all four must have been established about the same time.

The state of Wu, with its center at what was then the apex of the Yangtze delta, only comes definitely within the purview of history with the accession of Shou Mêng 壽夢, in 585 B. C. A constant tradition, however, asserts that it was established, among a barbarian population, by T'ai Po, an elder brother of the grandfather of the founder of the Chou Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> There are many cogent reasons for believing in the substantial truth of this account, if not indeed in the actual historicity of T'ai Po himself; and there are only negative ones against our doing so.

Now the *Shih chi* tells us that from T'ai Po down to Shou Mêng

<sup>22</sup> Mencius, V, ii, 2 (2).

<sup>23</sup> The *Shih chi*, chap. XXXI, passim, refers to T'ai Po as 太伯 in the Analects, VIII, i, however, he is called 泰伯.

(inclusive, apparently) there were nineteen generations.<sup>24</sup> If we allow to these their usual Chinese estimate of thirty years, and count backward from the year 560 B. C., when Shou Mêng's reign terminated, we come to 1130 B. C. As we have seen, the "Bamboo Books" give 1050 B. C. as the date of the establishment of the Chou Dynasty; and T'ai Po, as an elder brother of the grandfather of its founder, may well have lived eighty years earlier. Hence in this instance as in so many others, the *Shih chi* and the "Bamboo Books" support each other.

We may now summarize the chronology of the earlier Chou period, and at the same time endeavor to link it up, as far as our scanty evidence permits, with the course of events in the Occident.

That the Chou Dynasty withdrew eastward from its seat in Shensi 陝西 in 771 B. C. as the result of an attack by a non-Chinese people from the northwest, may be taken as an established fact. Now slightly earlier there had arisen in the western steppe zone a centrifugal movement of peoples. This resulted in launching hordes of mounted Cimmerians and Scyths against the civilized realms of the Near East, whose main reliance in battle had hitherto been the war-chariot. Exactly the same sequence of events occurred in China, and during the same period. The Chinese of Chou times used a chariot, often a *quadriga*; but shortly after the expulsion of the royal house from its western seats we find cavalry coming into use among the Chinese states.<sup>25</sup> This innovation was beyond question the result of contacts with Central Asiatic peoples. That these were due to the same disturbances which brought the Cimmerians and Scythians into southwestern Asia is more than likely.

A couple of hundred years earlier, or about the middle of the tenth century B. C., there was a great resurgence of the Chou power, accompanied, apparently, by the founding of several new states.<sup>26</sup> Two successive kings, Chao Wang 昭王 and Mu Wang 穆王, who reigned, according to the "Bamboo Books", from 981 to 908 B. C.,

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<sup>24</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. XXXI, fol. 2-b.

<sup>25</sup> The earliest Chinese cavalry seems to have been armed with long, light lances; it was not until around 300 B. C. that horse-archers began to be employed, in imitation of the steppe peoples, as we are specifically told.

<sup>26</sup> See Table, second group of states.

pushed their conquests far and wide. There seems little doubt that this period of renewed state-founding was in some way connected with the military activities of these two rulers.

The establishment of the Chou Dynasty itself, by a group of invaders from the northwest, probably occurred, as we have seen, about the middle of the eleventh century B. C. The few centuries immediately preceding were characterized by great turmoil and movement of peoples in western Asia. These are believed to have been caused by an increase of aridity in the steppe region during the latter part of the second millenium B. C.<sup>27</sup> That the invasion of China by the Chou was one of the consequences of this state of unrest seems probable, the more so as we are told that the Chou were themselves pushed eastward by attacks from peoples still further west during the generations immediately preceding their conquest of China proper.

## V

The Chou Dynasty was preceded by that of the Shang. The latter, as we know from the Honan finds, had writing and kept records. It is altogether likely that some at least of the latter were preserved in the state of Sung, founded by a scion of the fallen dynasty early in the reign of the second Chou king. Hence we need not hesitate to accept as reliable in their main outlines the accounts of the Shangs which have come down to us.

In determining the date when the Shang Dynasty began, the Honan finds have not as yet greatly aided us, save in one particular. According to the "orthodox" tradition, the Shang line abandoned the filial for the fraternal type of succession in the time of Chung Ting 仲丁, who reigned, according to the "Bamboo Books", from 1400 to 1392 B. C.<sup>28</sup> But the Honan inscriptions reveal that the Shang practised fraternal inheritance from the first; that is, a deceased king was succeeded by his younger brothers in turn before the throne reverted to his son.

Now the "Bamboo Books", here as elsewhere apparently more reliable than the "orthodox" tradition, give thirty kings to the Shang Dynasty. Assigning that average of twenty years for each reign which holds good for the late feudal period in China, this

<sup>27</sup> Cf. C. E. P. Brooks, *Climate through the Ages*, London, 1926, p. 359.

<sup>28</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. III, fol. 7-a.

would imply a duration for the dynasty of 600 years. But the "Bamboo Books" allow it only 508, from 1558 to 1050 B. C., an average of slightly less than seventeen years. Apparently throughout this period of half a millenium some factor was at work shortening the lengths of reigns. Now such a result is precisely what we should expect from a form of fraternal inheritance. For a king's brothers would as a rule be older than his sons, and would succeed to the throne at ages when less expectation of life remained to them.

Hence we might expect, *a priori*, somewhat shorter reigns under the Shang, with their fraternal form of inheritance, than during the Chou period, when succession by primogeniture, although not universal among the states, had nevertheless become quite general. This is another indication of the greater reliability of the "Bamboo Books" as contrasted with the "orthodox" tradition, which assigns to the Shang twenty-eight kings reigning 644 Years, from 1766 to 1122 B. C.—an average of twenty-three years, a most improbable figure under a fraternal type of succession. Therefore the date of 1558 B. C. as that of the beginning of the Shang Dynasty is probably not very far from correct. We should at least be fairly safe in assigning its rise to the sixteenth century B. C., instead of the eighteenth, as the official chronology has it.

During the early centuries of the second millenium B. C. there occurred in the Near East another period of upheaval and turmoil. Among its consequences was the appearance of the Kassites in Babylonia, of the Hyksos in Egypt, and perhaps of the Vedic Indians in the Panjab. All these, without exception, were chariot-fighting and bronze-using peoples. So too were the Shang. Archaeological research proves that they had bronze weapons; and the inscriptions show that they had the chariot, apparently, from the form of the archaic character, a biga.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless it is unlikely that the Shang were themselves invaders from any great distance. The *Shih ching* or "Book of Odes", in speaking of them before they had established themselves in power, says, "Formerly, in the Middle Age, there was (a time

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Frank H. Chalfant, "Early Chinese Writing," *Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. IV, no. 1, Pl. XV, No. 206, where the character is shown in various ancient forms.

of) shaking and peril.”<sup>30</sup> This suggests the possibility that the Shang, like their successors the Chou, had been forced into their later seats by some vis a tergo before which they had to flee.<sup>31</sup> At all events, the balance of probability seems to be that the Shang, some centuries before their rise to power, occupied the extreme southwestern part of the modern Shansi 山西;<sup>32</sup> that they migrated thence to the district of Shang 商 (whence their dynastic name) in southeastern Shensi 陝西;<sup>33</sup> and that they finally descended the valley of the Lo Ho 洛河 into the great plain of northern China where they established themselves, apparently among the people known later as the Eastern Yi 東夷.<sup>34</sup>

When these events took place is a question upon which we have as yet but little light. Almost our only tangible clue is a passage in the *Shih chi*<sup>35</sup> which enumerates, from Hsieh 契, the miraculously conceived ancestor of the Shangs, to Ch'êng T'ang 成湯, the founder of their dynasty, fourteen names. If we allow to these the average of seventeen years which we found to apply to their descendants the Shang kings, as recorded in the “Bamboo Books”, we arrive at a date of around 1800 B. C. ( $14 \times 17 = 238$ , plus 1558) as approximately the earliest period to which the Shang family legends reached.

## VI

There still remains the question of the Hsia Dynasty, as it is traditionally called. The recorded statements concerning that

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<sup>30</sup> *Shih ching*, sect. *Shang sung* 商頌, IV, 7: 昔在中葉有震目業。

<sup>31</sup> An earthquake may be meant; but this on the whole seems less probable.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Chavannes, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 173, n. 2.

<sup>33</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. III, fol. 1-a; and cf. Chavannes, op. cit., Vol. I p. 174, n. 3.

<sup>34</sup> The non-Chinese people known as the Yi 夷 inhabited the eastern and seaboard portions of the country, and seem to have been in contact with the archaic Chinese civilization from a very early time. Thus Mencius, IV, ii, 1 (1), speaks of Shun 舜, a mythical ruler ascribed to the time before the Chinese dynastic period, as being “a man of the Eastern Yi” 東夷之人. The Shang seem to have been strongly influenced by them. In later times, after the Yi proper had been absorbed by the Chinese culture-group, their name was loosely applied to various non-Chinese peoples.

<sup>35</sup> *Shih chi*, chap. III, fol. 1-b ff.

"dynasty" are of such a character that little reliance can be placed upon them; and nothing whatever regarding it has been revealed as yet by archaeology. The official chronology assigns to the Hsia period a duration of 439 years (2205-1766 B. C.). The "Bamboo Books" give it 431 years (1989-1558 B. C.). This close approximation between our sources, for such a remote period, looks suspicious. But it goes even further; for the two versions also agree in attributing to the Hsia seventeen kings, and they both assert that an interregnum of forty years began about three-quarters of a century after the establishment of the dynasty. Further, as has often been noted, many statements about the Hsia Dynasty parallel strikingly, even in matters of detail, others recorded of the Shang.

All these facts, taken together, hint pretty strongly that a fabricated "history" of the Hsia, inspired in part at least by that of the Shang, was compiled sometime before the middle of the Chou Dynasty, to supply the lack of real records. It was this, apparently, which formed the basis for the statements concerning the Hsia in both the official version and the "Bamboo Books". Hence the very existence of a Hsia Dynasty has sometimes been questioned and the Chinese Bronze Age civilization has been thought to have begun with the advent of the Shang, not long before the middle of the second millenium B. C.<sup>36</sup>

This seems hardly justifiable. That some solid basis—at the very least a genuine folk-recollection—underlay the traditional view, seems certain. The legends about the Hsia are localized mainly in southwestern Shansi, in the valley of the lower Fên Ho, just above its confluence with the Yellow River. Here the mythical Ta Yü 大禹 (perhaps most likely a water-god of the region), the reputed founder of the Hsia Dynasty, is said to have had his capital, at or near the present Hsia Hsien 夏縣. The region just across the Fên, between it and the Huang Ho, was in late pre-Christian times still called Ta Hsia 大夏 or Great Hsia.<sup>37</sup> The Hsia were regarded as having founded the Chinese Bronze Age Civilization. Thus the *Li chi* says,<sup>38</sup> "Hsia created and Yin (i. e., the Shangs) maintained." Chin 晉, the state which early

<sup>36</sup> Cf. V. K. Ting, "How China acquired her Civilization," *Symposium of Chinese Culture*, Shanghai, 1931, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Chavannes, op. cit., vol. II, p. 148, n. 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Li chi*, chap. VIII, *Li Ch'i*, ii, 4: 夏造, 殷因.

in the last millenium B. C. grew up in the region about which the Hsia legends cluster, used the "calendar of the Hsia", which Confucius regarded as the preferable one.<sup>39</sup>

Again, the ruling classes of the various Chinese states of the later Bronze Age<sup>40</sup> were often referred to, collectively, as "the Hsia" 諸夏.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, feudal lords of the Ssü 姒 clan, that to which the Hsia kings were said to have belonged, are found in historical times in both the western and the eastern portions of the Chinese area.<sup>42</sup> Among those seated in the east during the Confucian period were the princes of a small feudal state, that of Ch'i 杞 situated not far from the point where the three modern provinces of Honan, Shantung, and Kiangsu converge. Of this state the *Tso chuan* says, "Ch'i is a remnant of Hsia, but has approached the Eastern Yi."<sup>43</sup> Ch'i, like Chin, retained the use of the Hsia calendar.<sup>44</sup> It is also mentioned, repeatedly, as keeping to the "rites of the Hsia."<sup>45</sup>

Hence there appear to be solid grounds for believing in the former existence of a Hsia "dynasty" of some sort, as well as for thinking that its rise was connected with the advent of the Bronze Age in China. But for such a remote and poorly documented period, it would be hopeless to attempt any calculations based upon the alleged number or duration of reigns. Our best clue is probably that passage in the *Shih chi*, already cited in connection with the Shangs, which gives fourteen names from Hsieh, the mythical founder of that family, to Ch'êng T'ang, the founder of the Shang

<sup>39</sup> Analects, XV, x, 2. In the "Hsia" calendar, whatever its origin, the year began with the second lunar month after that in which fell the winter solstice.

<sup>40</sup> The use of bronze for the manufacture of utensils and weapons in China was gradually replaced by that of iron during the last half of the last millenium B. C.

<sup>41</sup> Cf., e. g., the *Tso chuan*, IV, i, 2; also the *Shih chi*, chap. xxvi, fol. 3-a.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Henri Maspero, "Légendes mythologiques dans le *Chou king*," *Journ. Asiatique*, 1924, p. 73.

<sup>43</sup> *Tso chuan*, IX, xxix, 7: 杞夏餘也而即東夷. Whether this "approach" to the Eastern Yi has a geographical or a cultural significance is uncertain; the former seems more likely on the face of it, but Chinese scholars usually take it in the latter sense.

<sup>44</sup> *Li chi*, chap. VII, *Li yün*, i, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Cf., e. g., Anal., III, 9: Doctrine of the Mean, XXVIII, 5; the *Li chi*, chap. VII, *Li yün*, ii, 1.



Dynasty. For Hsieh, who as we have seen was apparently supposed to have lived somewhere around 1800 B. C., is also said to have been a contemporary of Ta Yü, the no less mythical founder of the Hsia Dynasty.<sup>46</sup> Hence we may perhaps ascribe to the beginning of the latter approximately the same date.

Whether the Bronze Age civilization appeared in China at that time, or, as has been suggested by a recent writer, about a century later, is a question foreign to the subject of this paper; for it would involve the discussion of cultural rather than chronological problems. We may only say here that the Shang themselves seem not to have established themselves in the Chinese plain as wholly alien invaders, but rather as one of the groups then occupying what was perhaps the original Chinese culture-area, in southwestern Shansi 山西. And since they are known to have been in the Bronze Age, it seems a fair inference that the same civilization was the common property even then, as we know it was later, of "the Hsia" 諸夏 as a whole.

In any case we may regard the advent of a Bronze Age type of culture in China as having taken place during the first half of the second millenium B. C., or, roughly, about the same time that it was appearing in various regions of northern and northwestern Europe.

It is perhaps significant that both historians and climatologists agree in attributing to the centuries around 2000 B. C. a prolonged period of drought, accompanied by a widespread dispersion both of cultures and of peoples, which affected nearly every portion of the North Temperate Zone of the Old World.<sup>47</sup>

## VII

We may now summarize briefly the results of our study of the chronology of ancient China—of the San Tai 三代 or "Three Dynasties", as the period is termed by Chinese scholars.

There is no doubt, save in matters of detail, as to the course of events from the middle of the ninth century B. C. onward. The further back we go before that time, the greater do our uncertainties become. Several independent lines of investigation unite to suggest that the Chou invasion occurred during the middle of the

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<sup>46</sup> *Shih ching*, sect. *Shang sung*, iv, 1; also *Shih chi*, chap. III, fol. 1-a.

<sup>47</sup> Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 359.

eleventh century before our era. The rise of the preceding dynasty that of the Shang (Yin), seems in all probability to have taken place about five hundred years earlier, or during the sixteenth century B. C.

Regarding the Hsia "dynasty", in the total lack of any archaeological evidence, it is possible to reach only the most tentative conclusions. No trace has ever been found of any gradual evolution of a Bronze Age civilization on Chinese soil. It appears well developed from the very first; and, as has been pointed out, it was closely similar in its fundamental elements to that of the Near East at the same period.<sup>48</sup> Its advent in China seems on the whole most likely to have occurred two or three centuries after the beginning of the second millenium B. C. Whether it was that event which was remembered in legend and tradition as "the founding of the Hsia Dynasty", only further excavation can determine. More than that, in the light of our present knowledge, it would be unsafe to say.

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<sup>48</sup> Berthold Laufer, "Some Fundamental Ideas of Chinese Culture," *Journal of Race Development*, Vol. V, 1914-1915, pp. 160-174.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*A History of Indian Philosophy.* By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA.  
Vols. I (reprinted from 1st ed., 1922) and II. Cambridge:  
UNIVERSITY PRESS, New York: MACMILLAN AND CO. 1932.  
Pp. xvi + 528 and xi + 620.

This is a very ambitious work, unequalled in its field as to range and magnitude. The first volume covered the beginnings of philosophy in India; Buddhist and Jaina philosophy; Sāṅkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā, and partially the Vedānta of Śaṅkara. It is now reprinted, apparently without change; at least without alteration of statements which the author no longer accepts, so that at times the second volume is inconsistent with the first; such inconsistencies are sometimes serious, and may yet remain unnoticed in either volume.<sup>1</sup> The second volume, now issued after a lapse of ten years, contains only four very long chapters. One concludes the subject of the school of Śaṅkara. The second treats the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, a monistic treatise very popular in India but comparatively little known in the West. The third deals with speculation in the medical schools, an important subject which has hitherto seldom been brought into its proper relation to general Indian philosophy. The fourth treats the *Bhagavad Gītā*. At least three other volumes are planned by the author. They are intended to deal with the *Pañcarātra* system, with Rāmānuja, and other non-Śaṅkara schools of Vedānta, with the *Purāṇas*, with Vallabha and other Vaiṣṇava schools, with the Śaiva, Śākta, and Tantric schools, with Indian aesthetics, the philosophy of law, and "religious systems that have found their expression in some of the leading vernaculars of India."

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<sup>1</sup> *E. g.*, I. 421 dates the *Bhagavad Gītā* in the first or second century B. C. and says that it is later than the *Brahma-sūtras*, because it refers to them (thinking of *Gītā* 13. 4). But II. 549 ff., without mention of this previous statement, makes the *Gītā* pre-Buddhist and says that 13. 4 "has to be treated as an interpolation or interpreted differently" (a rather casual way of dismissing the matter!). I believe that Śaṅkara is right in referring the word *Brahma-sūtra* at *Gītā* 13. 4 to the *Upaniṣads*, and that what we call the *Brahma-sūtra* is later than the *Gītā*; but that there is no good ground for considering the *Gītā* pre-Buddhist. Such a theory can perhaps not be disproved, but it can certainly not be proved.

An ambitious program this! One must certainly admire the courage and industry of any one who even attempts it. Much of the ground is almost or quite unknown except thru the original sources, and even they to some extent exist only in manuscript. The author is therefore largely a pioneer, and it is hardly fair to expect his work to be definitive; indeed he modestly disclaims this title (I. 4 f.). In general his aim has been to devote his main attention to exploration of the relatively unknown. This is very sensible, and from the scholarly Indological standpoint most desirable, tho it results in some unevenness, in the slighting of comparatively important matters, and diminishes the usefulness of the work as a reference-book, especially for outsiders. Thus, the author himself truly says (I. ix) that his treatment of Vedic and Brāhmaṇa speculation is "very slight." It is also conventional and hardly even modern: it is apparently based mainly on secondary sources, and not always on the best ones. Even the Upaniṣads are treated rather perfunctorily and not at all in an original way. For a different reason northern Buddhism is presented largely from secondary sources; here the reason lies in the inaccessibility of many of the primary texts (known only in Chinese and Tibetan, which the author does not command).

With these exceptions, however, the author's work, for better or for worse, is at least his own. This applies even to some subjects, notably the Bhagavad Gītā, on which a large secondary literature exists. This secondary literature has been very nearly ignored by the author, who has chosen to give his own interpretation based on direct study of the sources. The method has both advantages and disadvantages. Some common and widespread errors are avoided, and some important and generally ignored truths are brought out. On the other hand, one who wanders alone "like a rhinoceros" sometimes stumbles into pits from which a competent fellow-traveler could have extricated him. A good example is the treatment of the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*, I. 243 f. Mr. Dasgupta sees correctly that they are "substances, not qualities". But he flounders hopelessly in trying to explain the term *guṇa*; he offers several alternative explanations, all quite wrong, when the correct one might have been got from almost any Sanskrit dictionary or secondary work dealing with "Sāṅkhya". *Guṇa* means primarily "strand (of a rope)", a meaning which the author does not even mention, but

from which quite obviously the "Sāṅkhya" use of the word is derived: the *guṇas* are the "strands" which together make up *prakṛti*, "material nature", just as strands woven together make up a rope.

His elaborate treatment of the Bhagavad Gītā shows at different times the same strength and weakness. He is one of the very few who have seen the (to me) obvious truth that "the word *sāṅkhya*, in the *Gītā*, does not mean the traditional Sāṅkhya philosophy" (II. 476, cf. 455 ff.), but rather a "way of (gaining salvation by) knowledge". The reviewer was the first to prove this, in an article "The meaning of Sankhya and Yoga", *American Journal of Philology* 45 (1924), 1 ff.<sup>2</sup> But Mr. Dasgupta (p. 458) weakens the case and shows ignorance of the facts when he says that in other parts of the Mahābhārata, *sāṅkhya* means the traditional school of thought later called by that name, or some similar school. Just the opposite is the case, as I proved *l. c.* There is, I believe, not a single occurrence in the entire epic (certainly not in the well known philosophic parts) of such a use of the word *sāṅkhya*.

While the author is right on the meaning of the word "Sāṅkhya" in the *Gītā*, he fails lamentably on its pendant "Yoga," and thereby vitiates a very considerable part of his interpretation; for this, of course, is a word of fundamental importance in the *Gītā*. He takes it to mean "union", and most commonly "union (with God or Brahman or the *paramātman*).". Now it is true, as the author says, that *yoga* is used in various senses in the *Gītā*; but it happens that never once is it used in the meaning of "union". The notion of "union with God" (or *paramātman*, etc.) is a very common one in the *Gītā* (and in the Mokṣadharma and other works of the period), but *never once* in *any* of them, so far as I have been able to find (and I have searched earnestly), is the word *yoga* used of such "union". The emancipated soul "goes to, attains" God etc., or is "fixed" in Him, or "sees" Him, or even attains "sameness, likeness" (*sāmya*, *sāmyatā*) with Him; but not once is the noun *yoga*, or the verb *yuj*, or the participle *yukta*, or any derivative of this root, used with "God" or "Brahman" or *paramātman* or the like in dependence upon it. Mr. Dasgupta assumes that the

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<sup>2</sup> Professor Charpentier ("Some Remarks on the Bhagavadgītā," *Indian Antiquary* 59 (1930), p. 4 of reprint) unqualifiedly accepts my article, which he describes as "incontrovertible."

latter nouns are "understood" with *yoga*. But the texts frequently express the *idea* he has in mind in plain words, and always by different words, never by *yoga*! The standard meaning of *yoga* in the *Gītā* and other philosophic texts of its period is "disciplined activity, earnest systematic striving, practical effort (towards salvation)". It is a practical method, a means of seeking salvation by *doing* something, contrasted with *Sāṅkhya*, the method of gaining salvation by pure *knowledge* (which, in the *Gītā* and often elsewhere, is felt as implying renunciation of all action). The precise nature of the thing to be done, the efforts to be made, under the *yoga* method, may vary. In the *Gītā* it is regularly "unattached" or disinterested performance of normal acts as required by "duty". In the *Mokṣadharmā* it is another sort of action. But it is always action, effort, disciplined activity. From this, by a slight extension, it comes to mean simply "method, process, way" in general, as in *jñāna-yoga*, the "way of knowledge" of the followers of *Sāṅkhya*; in the same context with this term, the "way of disciplined activity" of the followers of *Yoga* (in the above sense) has to be more clearly specified as *karma-yoga*, "way of action" (*Gītā* 3. 3). So in 13. 24, with which Dasgupta has much unnecessary trouble (p. 456); *sāṅkhyena yogena* means simply "by the *Sāṅkhya* method", exactly the same as *jñāna-yogena* 3. 3.<sup>3</sup>

There are other points on which I should like to take issue with Mr. Dasgupta in his treatment of the *Gītā*; but most of them are implied in my own book (*The Bhagavad Gītā*, Chicago, 1925); and I must bring this review to a close. I wish that Mr. Dasgupta had studied the other philosophic parts of the *Mahābhārata*, notably the *Mokṣadharmā* section; this is an important field, which at least in these two volumes is ignored. It would have helped him to improve his treatment of the *Gītā*, for the ideas of both are largely similar, and at least they belong clearly to the same period. I wish also that in his treatments of the late scholastic speculations, with their endless and often pretty puerile dialectic, he had not so largely contented himself with reproducing in full or in summary what the Sanskrit texts say, but had introduced more order into the chaos. As it is, much remains turbid, and the gen-

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<sup>3</sup> See my article cited above, especially pp. 37 ff.; Charpentier, *ZDMG.* 65. 846 f.; Hopkins, *JAOS.* 22. 334.

eral impression may, I fear, not convert those sceptics who doubt the importance of all Indian thought (cf. I. 3 f.). Occasionally the author points out the absurdities into which even the best of these scholastics (even Śankara) too often fall; but these cases are regrettably rare. In general he simply lets them speak for themselves. This is no doubt conservative, but it leaves the final work still to be done; one feels at times that one is reading a source-book for a history of Indian philosophy, rather than the history itself.—Each volume has an index, but there is no bibliography, and bibliographical references in the footnotes are extremely scanty.

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*The Mahābhārata.* For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D. Ādiparvan: Fascicule 5. Poona: BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 1931. Pp. 401-640.

This is much the largest fascicule yet issued in this monumental and admirable work, and brings the large Ādiparvan (Book I) within measurable distance of completion. Dr. Sukthankar informs me by letter that the sixth and last fascicule of this Parvan will be issued shortly. It will, I understand, contain not only the rest of the text as accepted by the editor, but also the numerous long insertions in various recensions which he rejects as spurious. It will thus complete the record of the manifold tradition of the Ādiparvan in all its ramifications.

I can add nothing to the words of praise which I have expressed in reviews of previous fascicules, and which have been echoed by more competent judges. Indeed the chorus of enthusiastic approval with which the scholarly world has almost unanimously greeted this work is most striking, tho not surprising to one who has examined it carefully. I know of only two exceptions, and am obliged to consider both of them unimportant and rather captious, subscribing heartily to the opinion of Charpentier, *OLZ* 1932, 276 f. Protest should particularly be entered against the suggestion that Sukthankar conceives his work as a reconstruction of the "Ur-Mahābhārata". I can only suppose that the distinguished scholar who made this accusation had read with insufficient attention the work he was undertaking to review. Sukthankar seems to me to

have made it very clear that he makes no such claim. His modesty prevents him from saying, but I will venture to say, that it is nevertheless unlikely that the world will ever see any much closer approach to that ideal but impossible desideratum. Granted that it may be called, in a sense, "only a Poona recension" of the Mbh.; that "Poona recension" is obviously, in numerous important respects, a much older and (in the scholarly sense) better form of the epic than any other edition or any known manuscript. Moreover, all important divergences are or will be contained in the elaborate Critical Apparatus and Appendices; so that everything a scholar could want to know about the Mbh. tradition will be found here. As to the "Ur-Mahābhārata", we do not even know that there ever was anything which could properly be described by that name.

The Kashmirian version continues to constitute the most important support for the edited text. Noteworthy are the omissions, with K, of Bombay ed. chs. 116, 139, 140, 149, and parts of 128, 129, 138, and 141. Of special interest is the disappearance, with B 139, of the only mention in the epic of the story that Dhṛtarāṣṭra appointed Yudhiṣṭhira his heir apparent, passing over his own hundred sons; a most implausible incident, which should henceforth be treated as an obviously secondary attempt to bolster up the weak case for the Pāṇḍava brothers. It should be remarked that there is usually other evidence against these passages, besides the omission in K. Particularly M, the Malayalam recension, has several striking agreements with K, a fact all the more impressive because M hails from a province at the opposite end of India from K and belongs to the Southern recension. Thus, M supports K in omitting the spurious parts of B 128 and 129 (see p. 532; the editor fails to mention this in his Editorial Note).—The Kaṇi-kanīti, B 140, is omitted not only in K, but in Kṣemendra's Bhāratamañjarī, the Javanese Mbh., and Devabodha's ancient commentary; and, according to Sukthankar, in the Telugu adaptation of Nannaya. This last statement is disputed by P. P. S. Sastri in his edition of the Southern Mbh., *Ādiparvan* (Madras, 1931), II, p. xxvii f.; Sastri says that Nannaya clearly refers to the Kaṇi-kanīti. I have no means of determining the truth of this question; but assuming that Sastri is right, there remains plenty of evidence to make us suspect the chapter, besides its omission in K. In addi-



tion to that already cited, the passage is only a replica of a later passage, in the Śāntiparvan, whence it was presumably copied into the Ādi; such duplications are generally spurious.

The ever-increasing number of cases in which passages suspicious on other grounds are omitted in K confirms the growing conviction that K is, on the whole, probably the best recension we have, and that Sukthankar is well justified in giving it exceptional weight. This does not, of course, mean that it is to be followed blindly. It is especially K's *omissions* that are important, as Sukthankar shows in his judicious Editorial Note. "With the possible exception of the Kāśmīrī version all other versions are indiscriminately conflated." I think this statement has now been amply proved. It remains to be seen whether later parts of the text will show that even K has been "conflated"; that, I take it, is what Sukthankar means by speaking of it as a "possible" exception.

Yale University.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

*The Shāh Nāmah of Firdausi*, with 24 illustrations from a fifteenth century manuscript formerly in the Imperial Library, Delhi, and now in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. Described by J. V. S. WILKINSON, with an introduction on the paintings by LAWRENCE BINYON. London: INDIA SOCIETY, 1931. Pp. 92.

The reproductions, many of which are in color, make accessible an exquisite series of Timurid paintings hitherto almost unknown to students of Persian art. Believing rightly that "for the appreciation of Timurid painting some understanding of the incidents depicted is essential", Mr. Wilkinson devotes most of the space to "drama and meaning". Mr. Binyon, following a brief outline of the history of Persian painting, comments on the pictures reproduced, from the standpoint of form. On p. xv the convention of the high horizon hidden hill peaks, and the vertical projection or perspective *à cheval* which underlies this formula, are referred to as "taken from Chinese painting"; but this seems to be a needless assumption, since the method is Asiatic rather than specifically Persian or Chinese. It is used already in Assyrian art, appears constantly in Indian art from its "beginnings" (i. e. in the second century B. C. when permanent material was first em-

ployed, preserving the then current phase of an already old tradition) onwards (cf. my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figs. 127, 166); it is a part of the grammar of Asiatic art at all times.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

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*Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus. Mit Beiträgen zum Eigentums- und Pfandbegriff nach griechischen und orientalischen Rechten.* By PAUL KOSCHAKER. Vol. XLII of the *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Leipzig: S. HIRZEL, 1931. Pp. viii + 122.

Legal documents form a large proportion of the inscriptions that have been discovered in course of recent excavations in the Near East. These additions to the legal sources previously accumulated are not only considerable in volume, but also—what is far more important—notable for their variety. Since archaeologists have been concentrating of late on the peripheries of the ancient culture lands of Babylonia and Assyria, it is natural that the new sources should reflect the legal concepts and usages current among the peoples who for many centuries were the neighbors of the Sumerians and the Assyrians. The new material has many points in common with the documents from Mesopotamia proper; but the divergences are no less numerous and vastly more interesting.

For the elucidation of this type of documents a thorough legal training must be combined with a sound Assyriological background. This explains why such teams as that of Kohler, the jurist, and Ungnad, the philologist, shared for a long time the work on the legal material from the period of Hammurabi. Koschaker has the rare and enviable training that enables him to control both departments. Moreover, he knows how to convey his own enthusiasm for the subject to his students and his readers. The result has been a series of stimulating and often fundamental contributions both by Koschaker himself and by the members of the school that has grown up about him.

In 1928 Koschaker published his *Neue keilschriftliche Rechts-*

*urkunden aus der el-Amarna-Zeit*,<sup>1</sup> in which he discussed the Kirkuk documents published up to then, as well as the middle-Assyrian texts from Ashur. With some expert philological assistance from Landsberger he was able to solve in that work many of the knotty problems which the new texts presented. It lies in the nature of things that a pioneering work should require subsequent modification in a number of details. In his latest publication Koschaker not only takes up many new problems, but he is also able to extend or modify several of his previous solutions.

The new work is divided between Greek texts from Dura-Europos and the cuneiform material from Susa and Kirkuk. Very instructive is the author's treatment of a parchment contract of loan, which was published by Rostovtzev and Welles in the *Yale Classical Studies*, vol. II. An interesting parallel is drawn between the antichretic provisions of the Dura contract and the personal-*tidennûtu* documents from Nuzi. In both instances we are dealing with cases of service antichresis, i. e., the interest on the loan is covered by the work of the debtor.

The juridical construction of the *tidennûtu* texts is discussed in ch. IV. The author gives up the etymology of the word which he had previously advocated,<sup>2</sup> and which the present reviewer had independently rejected.<sup>3</sup> His new translation of the word as "usufruct, use" (p. 87) fits indeed all instances in which the term is found; I do not feel, however, that it represents the primary meaning, and I expect to discuss the subject in detail in the near future. An *aweharu* (thus instead of *awiharu*, cf. *a-me-ha-ru*, Nuzi III 273. 11) is strictly speaking one tenth of a homer. The assumption that *šurrumma* is Hurrian (p. 88, line 21) is unnecessary; the word corresponds to Akkadian *šurriš*, "speedily, forthwith." There are several other instances in the Nuzi texts where an Akkadian word is given a Hurrian ending; the author himself has hinted at such a possibility in *OLZ*, 1932, p. 404 b.

Pp. 90 ff. deal with the *esip-tabal* transactions from Susa, which represent a type of pawn. It is very remarkable that although this transaction is mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi (49-52), the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXXIX of the *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibidem 131.

<sup>3</sup> *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. X, 36.

documentary evidence for it comes from Elam and not from Babylonia. It is not at all impossible that Hammurabi incorporated in this instance a concept of the Elamitic law, in which case we would have here a further example of the indebtedness of Babylonia to her neighbors. While admitting this possibility, Koschaker is careful not to commit himself on the subject in view of the paucity of the available sources.

To those who are acquainted with Koschaker's previous contributions there is no need to point out that the author's style is lucid and that his arguments are always challenging and stimulating.

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*Excavations at Nuzi*, vol. II: *The archives of Shilwateshup, son of the king*. *Harvard Semitic Series*, vol. IX. By ROBERT H. PFEIFFER. Cambridge: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1932. Pp. xxv, pl. xc.

The study of so-called Kirkuk (Nuzi) documents has now reached a comparatively advanced stage. The first five hundred texts to be published served to acquaint us generally with the historical, social, and economic background of the Semitized Hurrian colonies east of the Tigris. In the course of these preliminary studies many problems were encountered which could not be answered satisfactorily on the basis of the material discovered thus far. In many instances a virtual impasse has been reached that only fresh sources could help to overcome. It is for this reason that further publications of the Nuzi documents are awaited so eagerly; the contribution of Dr. Pfeiffer is certain to meet with a warm reception.

The majority of the texts are presented in autographed copies (nos. 1-120); nos. 121-158 are given in transliteration. The volume is introduced with a brief characterization of the contents of each tablet (pp. vii-xi).

The copying is thoroughly competent, and the editorship is altogether satisfactory. In text 11 it should have been indicated that the first line is missing. In 22.13 a "sic!" would have been welcome: text reads *i-na-an-din-aš-šu*, where *ipallahšu* is expected. In 22.18 the reader will recognize the form *i-pá-tur*. A "sic!" is also missing in 99.21: the *ù* at the end of that line surely belongs to the end of the line that follows.

With some of Dr. Pfeiffer's introductory summaries the reviewer is not in complete agreement. In text 4 *inkaru* is surely "husbandman, farmer," and not "gardener." In the names transliterated as *Mukkitilla* (5) and *Mukritesup* (20) the first syllable should have been read *Shuk*; this is abundantly clear from such texts as Chiera, *Nuzi* 303 (*Publications of the Baghdad School*, vol. III), where the same name is written *šu-uk-ri-ia* in line 9, and *MUK-ri-ia* in line 3. In 13 A. and S. do not deliver to Sh. the servant in question, but enter the house of Sh. as security pending the return of the servant. The meaning of *z/sianâtum* (no. 23) is explained in the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* X.37; for confirmation cf. Chiera, *Nuzi* III 297.24 (written with the ideogram *mašak*). Text 34 really informs us that Hanaia, the manager of the property of Sh. in the city of Paharrashe, hands over the management to a group of five men, who are approved by Sh. The reason for the withdrawal of Hanaia is old age (*inanna anâku altib*). In 94 we have in reality a memorandum (*taḥziltu/taḥsistū*) for use in an impending lawsuit. In 149 the recipient of the sheep is Ilimahi, son of Ilanu. In 113 the summary mentions Biennamush, while the transliteration has Biennasir (the latter is correct).

We are grateful to Dr. Pfeiffer for the inclusion in his volume of a number of transliterated texts. Against certain inconsistencies in the transliteration I wish to register a mild demurrer. The editor has adopted (and, I believe, wisely) the system of Thureau-Dangin. Now that system commits its followers to a transliteration meant to be etymological wherever possible. Hence words like *šu-be-ul-ti* (144.1) should have been written *šu-pé-ul-ti* (from *šupe'ltu*, connected with Semitic *pā'ālu*), especially since the Nuzians had no sign for *pe*. Similarly *bā-aq-nu* (connected with Akk. *baqāmu*) should have been substituted for *pa-ak-nu* (passim); *šu-pā-al* (144.12, 17) for *šu-ba-al*; *il-qì* (124.11, etc.) for *il-gi*; *[an]-nu-tù* for *[an]-nu-du*, 15.5. To be sure, this practice must not be carried too far. When we find *sa-ti-ir* for *šaṭir*, it is obvious that the Nuzians pronounced the word with *s*, which should be left in transliteration, something that the present reviewer failed to do in previous publications.

When it comes to Sumerian ideograms there is no reason to deny them their Akkadian equivalents. Thus AN.NA "lead,"

should have been written *anâku*, particularly since the word is often spelled out in these texts. AN.ZA.QAR should appear as *dimtu*, and KI.BAL is established as *ibbal(a)katu* (cf. *HSS* V 30. 27, 30; 68. 22).

The importance of the texts published in the present volume can hardly be overstated. In a review one can call attention to only a few salient points. Texts 14, 16, and 47, show definitely that *puhizzaru* denotes a kind of exchange; 35 is perhaps to be added here, since *pu-ḫu-qa-ri* in line 9 appears to be a scribal error for *pu-ḫu-iz-ri*. The word may be a Hurrian adaptation of Akkadian *pūhu*, as Koschaker has surmised (cf. *OLZ*, 1932, 403 b); such adaptations are more plentiful in the Nuzian texts than has been generally recognized. The name *Hu-ti-ip-u-ra-aš-še* (20. 1) still shows in its syllabic division the combination of an optative (*hutip*) and a divine element (Urash). In 19. 16-17, and in 20. 22-23 we have an interesting variation of the *rab (mâd)-siḫir* clause: *šumma ina mindati irabbu/i*, "if it exceeds in its measurements"; another variation of the same clause is furnished in 103. 18: *mišrišuma ukâl*, "its boundary it shall retain". In 30 and 35 we have the *maqannûtu* variety of exchange transactions. In 95. 21 we find instead of the usual *nadinânu ša kaspi* the phrase *anâku iḫîtu*, "the lead they tested". The interesting statement *di-bi-ni nu-uš-te-li*, "we have waived our claims," is made in 110. 9-10. Interesting light upon the *sûdûtu* problem is shed in 102. 30-31: the passage shows that *sûdûtu* was not synonymous with *andurâru*, but that the former ("proclamation") necessarily preceded the final release (*andurâru*). Of great value is also the additional information concerning the *kaška*-clause that is usually appended to the *ditennûtu* transactions. In 98. 31 and 101. 36 we have no difficulty in determining that *kaška* is synonymous with *nîksu* (cf. also *HSS* V 33 and 87). Thus *kaška* (also written *qa-as-qa* *HSS* V 81, and *qa-sa-qa*, *ibid.* 91) is obviously to be connected with the KA-SI-GA of the Amarna tablets (cf. Meissner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* V. 184), where we find the Akkadian synonym *ba-qa-ni* (from *baqânu*, "to pluck," precisely as in these tablets, instead of the usual *baqâmu*) and the Canaanite synonym *ka-[z]i-ra* (Heb. *qâšar*). The reviewer has discussed the subject at length in a study of the *ditennûtu* texts of *HSS* V, which will soon appear.

The above remarks will suffice, I trust, to point out the extraordinary importance of the texts which Prof. Pfeiffer has published. In doing so he has rendered Assyriology a great service.

University of Pennsylvania.

E. A. SPEISER.

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*The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes.* Edited by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER. London: LUZAC & Co., 1931, 28 pp. + 93 pp. + 4 plates.

All students of Ethiopic and those who are interested in the versions of the Bible will welcome this splendid text edition of the Book of Ecclesiastes which has appeared in the Oriental Research Series. In the Preface Dr. Mercer gives a brief history of the printed texts of the Ethiopic Old Testament together with some personal touches of his expedition to Abyssinia. In the Introduction he catalogues and describes twenty-two manuscripts located in Europe and three in Abyssinia. He has used all of them except one of the Abyssinian codices; this shows how thoroughly and accurately he prepared the text. The codex which was used as a standard or basic text is AA of the early fifteenth century, which is now at Addis Alem, Abyssinia. The editor tells us that no attempt has been made to construct an eclectic text; the time for that is not yet ripe, since earlier and more manuscripts must first be found. For this conservatism we must commend Dr. Mercer, and the reviewer feels safe in asserting that no one could have surpassed Dr. Mercer in the accuracy of preparing the text. There is no question that within the limits of his manuscripts the editor has given us the final word in his printed text and footnotes.

Dr. Mercer states that his text will serve as a stepping stone to a still earlier and more perfect one, and he believes that it shows fairly well what the Ethiopic text of Ecclesiastes was in the fifteenth century. He is correct in saying (Introd., p. 23) that the earliest translation of Ecclesiastes into Ethiopic was made from the Septuagint. A careful comparison of Swete's text of B with Mercer's text proves this. He has in one brief paragraph (Introd., p. 24, lines 8-11) given an excellent résumé of the provenance of the Ethiopic text. But in his further discussion of the Ethiopic version he is not so fortunate as in the preparation of his text, and

he makes statements which upon analysis are seen to be contradictory or at least not clear. This is partly due to the fact that he does not sufficiently differentiate in his discussion and citation of passages between the work of the first translators and later copyists and revisers. He correctly says (Intro., p. 23): "It is impossible to say which manuscript of the Septuagint the first translator had before him." That manuscript may no longer exist, and all we can do is to look for certain characteristics which will determine from what group or family or sources the Ethiopic version is derived. He furthermore asserts (Intro., pp. 23-24): "It seems clear also that the first translator had before him the Hebrew text of Ecclesiastes. He may have had before him the Massoretic text, but he certainly also used Hebrew manuscripts which differed from the Massoretic text, and which antedated it." Such a prominent influence of the Hebrew can hardly be applied to the text of manuscript AA. No doubt the first translation was influenced by the Hebrew, but it seems that the *frequent* influences from the Hebrew text came in after the first translation was made. Later on (Intro., p. 24), however, the editor moderates his statement on the Hebrew influences by including the later copyists and revisers who made use of the Massoretic text.

After having made a textual study of AA, there is no question in the reviewer's mind that the Septuagint is the basis of the Ethiopic version. The editor also says (Intro., p. 24): "It is certain that the earliest Ethiopic translator or translators made use of the Latin Vulgate, and perhaps also of the Old Latin version." As long as we do not have the original text of Ecclesiastes in Ethiopic, as the editor himself admits, this seems to be a rather sweeping statement, especially since the traces of the Vulgate are very few. The editor appears to take it for granted that the Ethiopic version is a conflate or quite a composite piece of work, even though the basis is the Septuagint. The influence of the Coptic is not apparent. The examples cited (Intro., p. 26) are not influences on AA, but rather similarities which are due to a common source of the Coptic versions and AA. We hardly need to expect Coptic influences in the original translation. The editor is correct in stating that the Ethiopic scribes used the Arabic version to revise their texts. On page 24 of the Introduction he cites a number of passages "to prove that the translators, copyists or revisers, made use of manu-



scripts of the Hebrew earlier than the Massoretic text." When we examine these citations, the statement seems unfortunate. In these passages AA 7:25 has an apparent influence from the Hebrew, but as regards 2:25; 4:14; 9:2; 9:4; 9:14; 10:6; 11:3; and 12:6 we can without any difficulty derive the text of AA from the Septuagint or the text of B. 3:1 can be derived from the text of B with Syriac "sun" for οὐρανόν; 3:19 can be derived from the text of B with Hexaplaric omission of οὐ. 8:10 follows the Greek of B in the main, with some individualism; 8:12 depends on the text of B with a singular suffix for αὐτῶν. (8:17, ḥēbūrā seems to be a slavish rendering of σὺν; cf. also 9:15; 10:19; 11:7.) 8:17 is derived from the text B with one omission and ἰδεν for ἰδον 20, as in MS. A (XC have εἶδεν). While it is admitted that the Septuagint in many cases goes to a text that is different from the Massoretic text, we have no evidence that the translators of the Ethiopic had access to that Hebrew text. The translation in these passages can be adequately explained from the Greek.

On the same page he cites places where he thinks the translators had both a Hebrew and a Greek text. As regards 7:15, it rather is derived only from the Greek, but with a transposition of ἰδε καὶ γε. In I. Kings this is a quite frequent phenomenon. In many cases in that book when the Ethiopic and Greek texts are placed in parallel columns a chiasmic arrangement with reference to the original strikes our attention. We find similar cases of transposition in Ecclesiastes. In 10:3 MS. AA has a good translation, even though it changed the word order of the Greek and the Massoretic text. The Ethiopic translators occasionally allowed themselves considerable freedom. Of course, as Dr. Mercer suggests in the Commentary, the later manuscripts combined the Greek and the Massoretic reading. 10:16 agrees with the text of B, but one later Ethiopic manuscript shows influence from the Hebrew.

The editor also refers (Intro., p. 24) to the "numerous places where the Massoretic text was preferred to the Septuagint." We cannot deny the influence of the Massoretic text upon the Ethiopic version, but on the other hand it should be borne in mind that some of the agreements with the Massoretic text may have been Hexaplaric intrusions into the Greek original used by the first translator, as in 6:6; 7:19, 22; 10:19, where we have agreements

with manuscript A. In fact a few lines above, on the same page, the editor says that there are a good many instances where the Ethiopic text follows other Greek manuscripts, among which he mentions A. He cites furthermore in that connexion 6:6 and 10:19 which he also assigns to a Massoretic origin. Are we to regard the translation of these two verses as based on a Hexaplaric text or on a Hebrew original? In 4:1, 4 and 12:5 we can explain the Ethiopic from the Greek. In 4:17 the influence of the Greek should not be minimized. An error of citation occurs, *Introd.*, p. 24, line 16; there is no verse 16 in chapter 6.

In the Commentary the editor makes many comparisons with the Septuagint and other ancient versions. But he should also have given his opinion as to the provenance of the Ethiopic text in these connections. The Massoretic text and the Septuagint are too often placed by him on the same level, when it is very obvious that the Septuagint is the basis of the Ethiopic text. There is no question that a Greek text similar to that of B is the basis of the Old Ethiopic version of Ecclesiastes; there are some Hexaplaric intrusions and also influences from the Massoretic text. There is also a slight influence of the Syriac version.

In conclusion it should be stated that the merits of the book far outweigh any defects it may have in the discussion of the provenance of the text in the Introduction and in the Commentary. The text is a distinct contribution, and students of Ethiopic must be grateful to Dr. Mercer for having produced such an excellent text of Ecclesiastes.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Princeton Theological Seminary.

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*Die legendäre Maghāzī-Literatur.* By RUDI PARET. TÜBINGEN: 1930. viii + 251 pages. Mk. 16.20.

Rudi Paret, the most diligent and brilliant scholar produced by the teaching of Enno Littmann, here presents to us another summary of valuable results of his digging. As did his former work, so does this concern itself with tremendously bulky, popular, or at any rate popularized story-telling literature. Most convincingly Paret traces the major bulk of these highly legendary tales of Moslem campaigns in the time of Mohammed back to

Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī, whose activity falls not earlier than the latter part of the thirteenth and not later than the first half of the fourteenth century A. D.

Little or nothing of historical value for the origins of Islam can be gained from these endless volumes of edifying legends. Yet the astonishing labors of Paret in summing up some 5000 pages of these tales, edifying to the uneducated Moslem masses, but not nearly so interesting to us, are of real value. They present to us the Islamic side of the world in which from the fourteenth century to very nearly our own time the broad masses of Mohammedans lived, moved, and had their being.

A few special problems connected with this literature are touched upon, e. g., the Shiite coloring of the tales in the idealization of 'Alī, and a possible comparison with the chansons de geste. Paret was wise, when in the first publication of his material he limited himself to (a) a *résumé* of content, divided into tales with and those without historical background; and (b) two sections of historical research on (1) the literary character, and (2) the value for the history of religion (chiefly on the Islamic side) of these fictions (*Dichtungen*).

If he or another find in himself the will and opportunity to continue such research, it seems to the reviewer that the first comparison that promises to be fruitful might be inner-Islamic:—How is the activity of these writers and relaters of Maghāzī-fiction related to that of the earlier Ḳuṣṣāṣ (Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 158 ff.; Macdonald, article "Ḳissa" in *Enc. of Islam*; Massignon, *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*, passim)? Passing outside of Islam a comparison with the chansons de geste does, indeed, suggest itself to us. These, however, Professor Nitze tells me, are now considered to be inspired by Cluny. In a movement so inspired there seems to the reviewer as much reason for contrast as for comparison. This fine enthusiasm for heroically active martyrdom, a new thing in Christendom, is at a great remove from the epigone quality of the Maghāzī-products of the decadent period of Medieval Islam. We would have at least as much, perhaps more reason to compare this body of Mohammedan literature with the Syriac martyrologies collected and published by Bedjan; with the Menologia of the Byzantines started on their popular career by Symeon the Metaphrast

and still read at meals to the monks on Mt. Athos; and the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo de Voragine. Allowing for wide differences in ideals the judgment of Michael Ott on the *Legenda Aurea* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* would fit very well these Moslem legends, immensely popular in the Moslem area up to some fifty years ago, as the very bulk of their manuscript transmission shows: "If we are to judge the Golden Legend from an historical standpoint, we must condemn it as entirely uncritical and hence of no value, except in so far as it teaches us that the people of those times were an extremely naïve and a thoroughly religious people, permeated with an unshakeable belief in God's omnipotence and his fatherly care for those who lead a saintly life."

The University of Chicago.

M. SPRENGLING.

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*The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, extracted and translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānīsī by H. A. R. GIBB. London, 1932. Pp. 368.

Ibn-al-Qalānīsī, who held a leading position in the administration of Damascus, compiled from oral and written contemporary reports a chronicle whose importance for the history of the first sixty years of the Crusades is enhanced by the fact that, other than Usāmah's memoirs, we hardly have any other surviving source. Unlike other Arabic histories, this *Ta'rikh*, which begins in A.D. 1056 and goes down to 1160, the year of the author's death, had to wait long for an editor and still longer for a translator, whom it was finally lucky to find in the person of Professor Gibb of the University of London. Gibb's translation is based on the printed text ably edited by H. F. Amedroz (Beirūt, 1908). The translation covers only those portions bearing directly on the events in Syria. In several cases the translator culled his sentences from longer paragraphs and since he gave no page references to the original text it is not always easy to find the corresponding place when making the necessary comparison. Nor did the translator live up to his intention, declared in the introduction, to translate literally without adding or subtracting from the author's words. Synonymous expressions, such as *fa-lam yazhar* (and never returned) p. 134, l. 22; *w-al-naṣr al-hānī* (and the joyful conquest) p. 198, l. 5; *wa-la ḥizr* (and inestimable) p. 136, l. 4; were omitted

from the translation, p. 43, l. 8; p. 155, l. 9; p. 46, l. 1, respectively; optative clauses in which Arabs delight, such as *rahimahu Allāh* (may God's mercy be upon him) p. 135, l. 16; *ta'āla* p. 136, l. 15 (may He remain high); *'alayhi al-salām* (may peace be upon him) p. 137, l. 5, were likewise ignored in p. 44, l. 25, p. 47, l. 7 (but cf. p. 50, l. 5), p. 48, l. 16. In certain cases, however, the omission was clearly not intended and has therefore resulted in a serious loss in meaning: *min al-Atrāk fi khalq 'aẓīm* (his 'askar including a great host of Turks and the) p. 138, l. 2 = p. 50, l. 2; *Zāhir al-Dīn wa-* (Zāhir al-Dīn and) p. 295, l. 15 = p. 280, l. 8; *fa-khayyamu 'alayha* (where they encamped) p. 298, l. 11 = p. 283, l. 17. Here and there a shade of meaning was missed or a slip made: *'āwada saqaṭ* p. 135, l. 16, translated "after falling repeatedly" p. 44, l. 25, should have been rendered "after falling once more"; *kashafu al-Muslimin an al-sūr* p. 136, l. 11, translated "they deprived the Muslims of the shelter of the wall" p. 46, ll. 26-27, should read "they cleared away (or dispelled) the Muslims from the wall"; *wa-qad fāt al-amr* p. 137, l. 5, translated "but found himself forestalled" p. 48, ll. 17-18, should read "but too late"; *ḍāyaqu* p. 137, l. 10, translated "besieged" p. 48, l. 30, rather means "pressed the siege against". On the whole, however, the translation is most accurate and reveals Professor Gibb as a real master of Arabic with all its many complications and niceties.

The translator has made a number of valuable emendations to the text indicated in the footnotes. Others might be suggested: Change *Shā'bān* (p. 134, l. 21; translation p. 43, l. 6), the month in which the comet appeared to *Shawwāl*; for the author was already discussing events in *Shawwāl* and because this month of the year 1097 corresponds to September-October in which the meteor according to Latin sources (cited by H. Hagenmeyer, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, p. 204, n. 3) made its appearance. As announced in the introduction, the annotation has been kept to a minimum and no attempt made to correlate the narrative with those of other Arabic chronicles and western sources. What a number of neat problems would have presented themselves had such an attempt been made! Here is one of them worked out by my student, Mr. Harold Fink: Tancred's death according to *ibn al-Qalānisi* p. 183, l. 20, took place on Wednesday, Latter Jumāda 8, year 506, which is equivalent to Nov. 30, 1112. Gibb substitutes

Latter Jumāda 18, for the 8th (which by the way falls on Tuesday rather than Wednesday), which he makes equivalent to Dec. 11. Ibn-al-Athīr assigns the same date as ibn-al-Qalānisi; Matthew of Edessa chooses December 5, Fulcher of Chartes, December 12. In all probability the gentleman died Latter Jumāda 18, or Dec. 10. *Wa-Allāhu a'lam!*

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*The Algebra of Omar Khayyam.* By DAUD S. KASIR. Contributions to Education: Teachers College, Columbia University. New York, 1932. Pp. 6 + 165. Cloth \$2.00.

This is the second Ph.D dissertation by an Arabic-speaking student to be issued by the Bureau of Publications of Teachers College in the last few years. The first was Totah's *Contribution of the Arabs to Education* reviewed in this Journal, vol. 47 (1927), pp. 282-4. The world-renowned Persian poet is hardly ever thought of as a mathematician but the introduction of Dr. Kaşır reveals him as a distinguished leader in that discipline which the Arabs bequeathed to the West together with its name. Kaşır's translation is based on an Arabic manuscript in the library of one of his teachers, Professor David Eugene Smith, and for the first time makes accessible to English readers one of the treasures of Arabic mathematical lore. The book is provided with a good bibliography but unfortunately follows the German system of transliteration.

Princeton University.

PHILIP K. HITT.

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*The Domestication of the Cormorant in China and Japan.* By BERTHOLD LAUFER. Field Museum of Natural History publication no. 300: Anthropological series, volume XVIII, no. 3. Chicago: FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, 1931. Pp. 201-262; 4 plates in photogravure.

In a work which is primarily a contribution to domestications in anthropology, the author has again achieved in parvo a model of methodology in sinological research. The very prevalence of the cormorant of which some forty species are known, a cosmopolitan scattered everywhere over the globe, at once provides a universality of interest. It is, however, in relation to its utilitarian purposes

in Japan and China that this somewhat grotesque bird is inseparable from our concepts of the Far East. To the many earlier references both in written text and graphic representation, frequently inaccurate and misleading, Dr. Laufer has now provided a hitherto lacking scientific study of characteristic clarity and precision.

*Phalacrocorax carbo* Schr. Swinhoe, is placed in its Far Eastern setting under the various categories of observation such as history, processes of domestication, iconography and folk-lore, etc. The theme of the investigation is that the Chinese are the only people who have brought it into a complete and perfect state of domestication, the bird propagating and being bred in captivity. Its use for sport only, similar to that of the falcon, appears to have been introduced into Europe by those early adventurers to the Far East, the Hollanders, probably from Japan, where, as so early a record as the *Sui Shu* (compiled in the 7th century) gives it, the use of cormorants for fishing had been in practice.

Cormorant fishing, it is disclosed, is one of the contributions not made through China primitively to neighboring civilizations. The Japanese were aware of this use of the bird three centuries before any reliable note of it appears in Chinese records. The much disputed term *wu kuei*, "black devil", appearing in one of Tu Fu's poems (8th century), the investigator's wide reading indicates, has erroneously been held to be the cormorant. In fine, written evidence is lacking up to the 10th century that the cormorant, the *lu tz'ü*, was employed for this purpose in China.

One may observe, however, that the scholastic mind of the Chinese literatus often disdained to record as trifling or beneath notice the commonest practices of the plebs, just as in the literature of the Romans important crafts and popular practices would be unknown were it not for the wall-paintings and mosaics surviving from the cities exhumed from volcanic dust. In fact, the Chinese and Japanese made little fuss over their discoveries, often unique phenomena in the history of the world. Dr. Laufer's discussion, however, is abundantly convincing from the stand-point of literary evidence that the practice appeared first in Japan, and that it did not pass from China through Korea, where it was never followed, as in the case of other cultural loans.

The Chinese and Japanese terminology of the cormorant is given

exhaustive consideration, and the scope of the investigation presents an unusual insight into the rich bibliography of Chinese natural science scarcely suspected by the occidental student. As the author observes in his earlier study on *Geophagy* (Field Museum of Natural History, Pub. 280, p. 101), "the days are gone when the discussion of a problem started with the Greeks and Romans whose importance in the history of civilization is not much greater than, and in many respects inferior to, that of the Asiatic nations."

University of California.

ESSON M. GALE.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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The Society has lost by death two of its elder members distinguished for their scholarly attainments: Dr. Edward Washburn Hopkins, professor emeritus of Sanskrit in Yale University, who died on July 16, 1932; and Rev. Dr. Justin E. Abbott, of Summit, N. J., formerly a missionary in India, who died on June 19, 1932.

By recent action of the Corporation of Yale University Professor John C. Archer has been appointed to the newly established Hooper Professorship of Comparative Religion.

The Executive Committee has elected the following persons as corporate members:

Mr. Hugh Borton  
Prof. Edwin E. Calverly  
Mrs. B. C. Merrill

Prof. George A. Odgers  
Rev. Prof. John Paterson  
Prof. J. Frank Reed.

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## CORRECTION

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In my article on "Transliteration of the Names of Chinese Buddhist Monks," in the JOURNAL, vol. 52, the following errors occurred:

p. 160, line 14, read 師 for 帥.

p. 162, line 10, read 釋 for 辭.

p. 162, line 4 from bottom, read 各 for 名.

Harvard University.

J. R. WARE.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING IN CHICAGO, 1932

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The sessions of the One Hundred and Forty-fourth Meeting of the Society were held in Chicago on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, March 29th, 30th and 31st, 1932, in conjunction with the Conference on Far Eastern Studies. One of the sessions was held at the Art Institute, the others at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Albert, A. D.	Driscoll, Miss	Latourette
Albert, A. D., Jr.	Dubberstein	Laufer
Bailey	Duncan	Levi
Blank	Ennis	Levy, F. A.
Bobrinskoy	Field	Lybyer
Bonner	Fox	McDowell
Bowman	Fuller	McEwan
Boyes	Gale	McGovern
Braden	Geers	MacLean
Braidwood	Ghormley	Mann, L. L.
Breasted	Glueck	March
Briggs, G. W.	Graham, W. C.	Marenof
Buck	Grant, E.	Matthews, I. G.
Buckler	Grant, F. C.	Meek
Bull	Graves	Michelet, Miss
Butin	Hail	Morgenstern
Buttenwieser	Hallock, F. H.	Nakarai
Cameron	Hallock, R. T.	Nims
Chiera	Hamilton	Noble
Clark	Hodous	Ogden, C. J.
Creel	Hughes	Olmstead
Creighton	Hummel, A. W.	von der Osten
Day, Miss	Humphrey, Miss	Piepkorn
Dean	Irwin	Poebel
Deane	Izzeddin, Miss	Porter
DeLong	Joshi, S. L.	Price
DeWitt, Mrs.	Kelley	Pullin
Dow	Kelly	Pyatt

Rathbun	Swain	Ware, Mrs.
Robinson, G. L.	Swann, Miss	Waterman
Schaeffer	Szadzunski	Webster, E. W.
Schmidt, N.	Taylor, W. R.	Wilkins, Miss
Sellers	Taylor, Z.	Willett
Shier, Miss	Trowbridge, Mrs.	Williams, Mrs. C. R.
Siebens	Tsunoda	Williams, W. G.
Siegel	Upton Close	Wilson
Smeaton, Miss	Voigt	Wolverton
Smith, J. M. P.	Walther	Wood, Frank E.
Sprengling	Ward	Worrell
Stefanski, Miss	Ware, J. R.	Total 119

There were also present some of those attending the Conference on Far Eastern Studies.

Present as guests of the Society were Dr. Sven Hedin and Dr. Baron Max von Oppenheim.

## THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.14 A. M. on Tuesday, the first session of the meeting was called to order by President Nathaniel Schmidt, in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute. Reading of the minutes of the meeting at Princeton in 1931 was dispensed with as these were already in print (JOURNAL 51. 344-367). There were no corrections and the minutes were approved.

Professor Breasted, Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented his Committee's report in the form of a printed program. He announced that President Hutchins of the University of Chicago had unfortunately been called to New York and would therefore be unable to deliver his scheduled address of welcome. The succeeding sessions were announced to be on Tuesday afternoon at 2.00 P. M., on Wednesday afternoon at 2.30 P. M., on Thursday morning at 9.30 A. M., on Thursday afternoon at 2.30 P. M., and on Thursday evening at 8.00 P. M. It was also announced that the members were invited to a showing of films at the Oriental Institute on Tuesday evening and to a sight-seeing drive and a tour of the Field Museum on Wednesday morning. It was further announced that the members were invited to luncheon at the University on Thursday, and that the Annual Subscription Dinner was to be held at the Hotel Windermere East on Wednesday evening.

## REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

The membership of the Society has increased somewhat since the last annual meeting; 77 persons have been elected to membership and one reinstated, but six members have died, 41 have resigned, and 11 persons have failed to qualify. The total number on the roll at present is 799, of whom 768 are corporate members. The unusually large number of 28 resignations since the preparation of the recent list warns us nevertheless that the year 1932 may be a severe test of the steadfastness of our supporters. The task of dealing with membership matters, especially of following up those who are continually being reported as missing, is one that your Secretary has not performed adequately during the past year, since for several months he could give but little time to the work of the Society, which is by no means restricted to the season of the annual meeting. The increasing interest in Oriental studies in this country is placing more and more duties on the executive officers of the Society, and your Secretary feels that the time is approaching when the work of his office will have to be reorganized upon a more businesslike basis than is possible under the present arrangement.

Apart from our participation in the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists and the Second International Congress of Linguists, mention of which does not belong in this report, the Society has had few external contacts this past year. Professor Lybyer was our representative at the inauguration of President Chase at the University of Illinois on May 1, 1931, and Professor Elbert Russell at that of President Graham of the University of North Carolina on November 11. The annual conference of the secretaries of the societies belonging to the American Council of Learned Societies, which was held in Washington on January 29 of this year and at which your Secretary was present, discussed some problems of publication and also the subjects of materials for research and the planning of research, to which some of the societies have given considerable attention. It is much to be regretted that such matters cannot find a place on the already full programs of our annual meetings.

We are fortunate this year in that the losses by death have been fewer than usual, only six, one being of an Honorary Associate and five of corporate members.

Rev. OTIS A. GLAZEBROOK, D.D., a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, after a long rectorate of St. John's Church, Elizabeth, N. J., became at the age of 69 the American Consul at Jerusalem just before the outbreak of the World War, and by his wise and courageous discharge of his duties during that critical period in Palestine earned the gratitude of all those whose interests he defended. In especial recognition of his services to the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem he was elected an

Honorary Associate of this Society in 1921. He was transferred to the consulate at Nice in 1920, retiring in 1929. He died while on his way to America on April 26, 1931, at the age of 85.

Rev. GEORGE FOOT MOORE, D.D., LL.D., Litt. D., D.H.L., professor emeritus of the history of religion in Harvard University, spent nearly his entire career in academic service, having been professor of Hebrew in Andover Theological Seminary from 1883 to 1902 before he became associated with Harvard in the latter year. His first scholarly production was in the Old Testament field, through his commentary on Judges (1895) and his subsequent edition of the text (1900), but his work in comparative religion, notably his *History of Religions* (first published 1913-1919), brought him his widest fame. In the field of post-biblical Judaism he attained an eminence rare among non-Jewish scholars, as evidenced by his *Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era* (1927-1930). His connection with this Society was long and intimate; from 1895 to 1911 he was Recording Secretary, and from 1896 to 1900 Editor as well. He held the office of President for two successive years, 1911-1913. He was a member from 1887 to 1919 and from 1925 until his death on May 16, 1931, at the age of 79.

Rev. CHARLES T. HOCK, D.D., dean of Bloomfield (N. J.) Theological Seminary and professor of Hebrew and classics, came to America from Germany as a young man and was for many years identified with the work of the Presbyterian Church in northern New Jersey. His scholarly interests were especially in the direction of Assyriology and Egyptology. He was a member from 1903 to 1913 and from 1921 until his death on November 6, 1931, at the age of 61.

Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., was for years professor in St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and was especially interested in the literature of the Veda. He was elected a member in 1911 and died on February 8, 1931, in Feldkirch, Germany, his death not being reported until after the last annual meeting.

Mr. JULIUS ROSENWALD, of Chicago, distinguished alike as leader in merchandising and as the founder or supporter of numerous philanthropic enterprises, manifested his interest in scholarship by his munificent gifts to the University of Chicago, the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary and to libraries and museums in the Near East. He was a life member of the Society, having been elected in 1920, and died on January 6, 1932, at the age of 69.

Mr. CHARLES JOHNSTON, of New York, born in Ireland, was educated in England for the Indian Civil Service, but after two years in India retired on account of ill health and came to the United States in 1896. His Eastern sojourn had imbued him with a love for Hindu literature and philosophy, which was expressed in his translations of the Bhagavad Gita, the Yoga Sutras, and of Deussen's work on the Vedanta. He wrote many articles and book reviews on Oriental subjects for American publications.

He was elected a member in 1921, and died on October 16, 1931, at the age of 64.

In addition to the members above named, it is fitting to commemorate two other persons not on our roll at the time of their decease: Rev. LEWIS B. PATON, Ph. D., D. D., a member from 1894 to 1931, professor of Old Testament exegesis in the Hartford Theological Seminary since 1900, director of the American School in Jerusalem in 1903-1904, and known as the author of works on early Jewish history and religion, who died on January 24, 1932, at the age of 67; and Rabbi PHINEHAS P. KARTZINEL, of New York, a former student at Columbia University and a graduate of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who was elected in 1931 but was killed in an accident on January 13, 1932, at the age of 23 before he had qualified as a member.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Upon motion a minute expressive of the Society's appreciation of the life and work of the late Professor George Foot Moore was unanimously adopted.

#### MINUTE

By the death of GEORGE FOOT MOORE, this Society has lost a member who added lustre to the scholarly reputation of his country throughout the civilized world.

Professor MOORE was an exact and profound Hebrew scholar, possessing a wide acquaintance and high esteem in the world of learning, Jewish as well as Christian, and was a learned and wise Biblical critic. With a rare knowledge of languages, history, and literature he combined a life-long occupation with philosophy, especially that of the Greeks. His most important books were his *Commentary on Judges*, his comprehensive *History of Religions*, which included an incisive sketch of the history of Christian thought, and his monumental work entitled *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: the Religion of the Tannaites*, in which his thorough knowledge of the Rabbinical sources, his insight into concrete fact, and his extensive historical view enabled him to portray the essential principles of Judaism with a dignity and authority such as has characterized no earlier work.

In his work at Andover Theological Seminary and the Harvard Divinity School MOORE was an inspiring teacher and a devoted one, lavish of his time in help to serious students. In the meetings of this Society he took a stimulating part, and he served it long and faithfully in important official positions. The world at large also recognized his eminence by many distinctions. Lovable and witty yet having great dignity of bearing, with exacting standards for himself and others but cordial and considerate toward all modest and honest work and endeavor, a thoughtful preacher, and a most loyal friend, MOORE represents a type of scholar which this Society reveres and which it must strive to foster.

It was unanimously voted to request the Corresponding Secretary to send telegrams of greeting and of regret at their absence to Professor Lanman and Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, and to send to Professor Lyon of Harvard a telegram congratulating him on the fiftieth anniversary of his entering the Society.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

In the absence of the Treasurer, Professor John C. Archer, the Corresponding Secretary read his report as follows:

## RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1931.

### Receipts

Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1931.....	\$9,213.56	
Dues from 482 members.....	2,610.95	
Life Membership.....	25.00	
Sales: JOURNAL (gross) to Jan. 31, 1931.....	1,296.53	
Panchatantra (net).....	245.52	
Catalogue of Library.....	6.50	
Nies Fund income.....	\$524.17	
Sales of Barton volume (net).....	111.48	
	<hr/>	635.65
Reprints from JOURNAL.....	20.80	
Authors' corrections.....	31.25	
Amer. Council of Learned Societies.....	147.87	
Refund (Orient. Bibl. subvention).....	50.00	
Interest:		
Yale Univ.....	408.01	
Mortgage (6%).....	360.00	
Virginian Ry.....	50.00	
Minn. Gen. Elec.....	50.00	
	<hr/>	868.01
Dividend (C. R. I. & P. Ry.).....	60.00	
(Total income.....	\$5,998.08)	
	<hr/>	\$15,211.64

### Expenditures

#### JOURNAL:

J. H. Furst Co., printing.....	\$2,296.67
Reprints .....	122.22
Corrections .....	78.75
	<hr/>
	\$2,497.64

## Yale Univ. Press:

Returns .....	164.58	
Commissions .....	282.99	
Transportation .....	157.63	
Mailing .....	168.00	
		<hr/>

773.20

Book Reviews.....	48.50	
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Catalogue of Library.....	1,677.91	
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## Expenses:

Editors .....	16.70	
Secretary .....	179.44	
Clerical, Yale University.....	149.82	
		<hr/>

345.96

Western Branch A. O. S.....	100.00	
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Dues, A. C. L. S.....	25.00	
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Honoraria: editors (3).....	600.00	
treasurer .....	100.00	
		<hr/>

700.00

(Total expenses..... \$6,168.21)

BALANCE, Jan. 1, 1932.....	9,043.43	
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\$15,211.64

## The SPECIAL FUNDS of the Society, Jan. 1, 1932:

Bradley .....	\$3,000.00	
Cotheal .....	1,500.00	
Whitney .....	1,000.00	
Casanowicz .....	150.00	
Nies Income.....	2,747.83*	
Am. Orient. Series.....	1,070.41*	
Life Membership.....	3,800.00	
Publication .....	94.20*	
Reserve (book val.).....	2,000.00	
		<hr/>

\$15,362.44

## The ASSETS of the Society, Jan. 1, 1932:

Bonds: Virginian Ry.....	\$1,000.00	
Minneapolis General Electric Co.....	1,000.00	
Stock, 20 shares of C. R. I. & P. Ry.....	300.00	
First Mortgage.....	6,000.00	
Cash on hand.....	9,043.43	
		<hr/>

\$17,343.43

The NET CASH BALANCE in the General Fund is.. \$1,980.99

\* With interest.

#### REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

The report of the Auditing Committee was then read by the Recording Secretary as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the Society and have found them to be correct and that the foregoing report of the state of the Treasury is in conformity with the accounts.

K. S. LATOURETTE,

R. P. DOUGHERTY,

*Auditors.*

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

In the absence of the Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, the Corresponding Secretary read his report as follows:

The number of volumes added to the Library during the year 1931/32 was 99. In addition to these books and pamphlets, there were received 330 numbers of periodicals continuing sets already in the Library or representing sets new to the Library. The cataloguing of books, pamphlets and periodicals is up to date.

In accordance with the vote of the Board of Directors at the Princeton meeting, sixty-two copies of the *Catalogue of the Library* have been sent with the compliments of the Society to libraries that subscribe for the JOURNAL. Forty-seven copies have been sold.

Following is a list of accessions for the year:

Abdišo. Paradise of Eden by F. V. Winnett. 1929.

Academia sinica. The Academia sinica and its National research institutes. [1931]

Academia sinica. Academia sinica with its research institutes. 1929.

American academy for Jewish research. Proceedings. 1930-31. 1931.

American academy of arts and letters. Proceedings in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary. 1930. (Academy notes and monographs)

American academy of arts and letters. Proceedings of ceremonies to mark the formal opening of the new building. 1931. (Academy notes and monographs)



- ‘Arifi. ‘The ball and the polo stick’. 1931.
- Arnold, Sir T. The legacy of Islam. 1931.
- Bartsch, P. New pearl oyster from the Hawaiian Islands. 1931.
- Basset, R. Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabes. T. III. Légendes religieuses. 1927.
- Bellinger, A. R. Catalogue of the coins found at Corinth, 1925. 1930.
- Bennett, W. C. Archaeology of Kauai. 1931. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bulletin 80)
- Bloomfield, M. Vedic variants. Vol. I. The verb. 1930. (Linguistic soc. of America. Special publications, vol. 1)
- Bogdanov, L. The Afghan weights and measures. [1929]
- Buddhaghosa. The Papanca sudani. Pt. II. 1926.
- Burt, C. E. A study of the teiid lizards of the genus *Cnemidophorus*. 1931. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 154)
- Calcutta. Imperial library. Report on the working of the Imperial library. 1930.
- Campanton, Judah ben Solomon. Judah ben Solomon Campanton and his “Arba’ah kinyanim”. 1930.
- Charles, R. H. Critical and exegetical commentary on the book of Daniel. 1929.
- Clark, A. H. Echinoderms from the islands of Niuafoou and Nukualofa. 1931.
- Collins, H. B. Excavations at a prehistoric Indian village site in Mississippi. 1932.
- Cushman, R. A. Descriptions of thirteen new American and Asiatic ichneumon-flies. 1931.
- [Damar-woelan] Rangga Lawe. 1930. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 1)
- Davidson, I. Genizah studies in memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter. III. Liturgical and secular poetry. 1928. (Texts and studies of the Jewish theological seminary of America, v. 9)
- Devonshire, Mrs. R. L. Eighty mosques. 1930.
- Dr. Modi memorial volume. Papers on Indo-Iranian and other subjects. 1930.
- Dumézil, G. Légendes sur les Nartes. 1930. (Bibliothèque de l’Institut français de Leningrad, t. 11)
- Dunn, S. G. Without prejudice. 1929.
- Eitan, I. A contribution to Biblical lexicography. 1924. (Contributions to Oriental history and philology, no. 10)
- Falaki-i-Shirwānī. Diwān, ed. by Hādī Ḥasan. 1929. (James G. Forlong fund, v. 9)
- Finkelstein, L. The commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah. 1926. (Columbia university Oriental studies, v. 19)
- Fisher, A. K. Report on birds recorded by the Pinchot expedition of 1929. 1931.
- Fisher, H. W. The fishes of the families *Pseudochromidae*, etc. 1931. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 100, v. 1)

- Fox, W. S. Passages in Greek and Latin literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism. [1929?] (K. R. Cama oriental institute publication, no. 4)
- Friedmann, H. Birds collected by the Childs Frick expedition to Ethiopia. Pt. I. 1930. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 153)
- Froes, L. Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578) 2. bis. 4. Lief. 1926.
- Froger, F. Relation du premier voyage. 1926.
- Frois, P. L. Die Geschichte Japans (1549-1578). 2.-4. Lieferung.
- Gahrieli, G. Manoscritti e carte orientali. 1930. (Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 10)
- al-Hazzālī. Tahafot al-Falasifat. 1927. (Bibliotheca arabica scholasticorum, série arabe, t. 2)
- Gifford, E. W. The Kamia of Imperial Valley. 1931. (U. S. Bur. of Amer. ethnology. Bulletin 97)
- Ginzberg, L. Genizah studies in memory of Dr. Solomon Schechter. II. Geonic and early Karaitic Halakah. 1929. (Texts and studies of the Jewish theological seminary of America. v. 8)
- Gray, L. H. The foundations of the Iranian religions. [1928] (K. R. Cama oriental institute publications, no. 5)
- Hambly, W. D. Serpent worship in Africa. 1931. (Field mus. of nat. hist. Publ. 289. Anthropol. ser. vol. 21, no. 1)
- Handy, E. S. C. History and culture in the Society Islands. 1930. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bulletin 79)
- Houses, boats, and fishing in the Society Islands. 1932. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bulletin 90)
- Hebrew union college annual. v. 7. 1930.
- Heidel, W. A. The day of Yahweh. [c 1929]
- Horowitz, E. P. Indo-Iranian philology. 1929. (K. R. Cama oriental institute publication, no. 2)
- Hrdlička, A. Catalogue of human crania. 1931.
- al-Hukūma al-Sūriyya fī thalāth Tinīn. 1349-1931.
- Informations musulmanes. no. 1-4. 1931.
- Itkonen, T. I. Koltan- ja kuolanlappalaisia satuja. 1931. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 60)
- Jagadīṣa-Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya. India's outlook on life. 1931.
- Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī. As-Suyūṭī's Who's who in the fifteenth century. 1927.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Cama oriental institute papers. 1928.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Dastur Kaikobad Mahyar's petition and laudatory poem addressed to Jahangir and Shah Jahan. 1930.
- Kaufman, J. Rahhi Yom Tov Lipmann Mühlhausen. 1926.
- Khodabax Edalji Punegar. The Gathas. [1929] (K. R. Cama oriental institute publication, no. 3)
- Kirfel, W. Bhāratavarṣa (Indien). 1931. (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte. 6. Hft.)
- Krieger, H. W. Aboriginal Indian pottery of the Dominican Republic. 1931. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 56)

- Langdon, H. Pictographic inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr. 1928. (Oxford editions of cuneiform texts, v. 7)
- Laufer, B. The domestication of the cormorant in China and Japan. 1931. (Field museum of natural history. Publication 300. Anthropol. series, v. 18, no. 3)
- Lentz, W. Auf dem Dach der Welt. 1931.
- Lutz, H. F. Egyptian statues and statuettes in the Museum of anthropology of the Univ. of California. 1930. (Univ. of California publications. Egyptian archaeology, vol. 5)
- Mackay, E. Report on excavations at Jemdet Nasr, Iraq. 1931. (Field mus. of nat. hist. Anthropology. Memoirs, v. I, no. 3)
- Mahipati, Tukaram. 1930. (The Poet-saints of Maharashtra, no. 7)
- Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla. Our perfecting world. 1930.
- Martynov, A. B. Report on a collection of insects of the order *Trichoptera* from Siam and China. 1931.
- Mason, J. A. Archaeology of Santa Marta, Colombia. 1931. (Field museum of natural history. Publication 304. Anthropol. series. v. 20, no. 1)
- Mead, M. Social organization of Manua. 1930. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bulletin 76)
- Michelson, T. Contributions to Fox ethnology. II. 1930. (U. S. Bur. of Amer. ethnology. Bulletin 95)
- Moodie, R. L. Roentgenologic studies of Egyptian and Peruvian mummies. 1931. (Field museum of natural history. Anthropology, Memoirs, v. 3)
- Oertel, H. Zur indischen Apologetik. 1930. (Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte. 5. Hft.)
- Osten, H. H. von der. Explorations in Hittite Asia Minor, 1929. [1930.] (Oriental institute communications, no. 8)
- Pañchatantra. Tantri Kamandaka uitg. door C. Hooykaas. 1931. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 2)
- Peiping. National library. First-third annual report for the years ending 1927-1929. 1927-29.
- Rele, Y. G. The Vedic gods as figures of biology. 1931.
- Riley, J. H. Second collection of birds from the provinces of Yunnan and Szechwan. 1931.
- Roberts, F. H. H. The ruins at Kiatuthlanna. 1931. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 100)
- Salemann, C. A middle Persian grammar. 1930.
- Schapira, Z. Die Bibel als Ariadnefaden im Labyrinth der Sprachen. [1927]
- Schechter, A. I. Studies in Jewish liturgy. 1930.
- Silver, M. Justice and Judaism in the light of today. 1928.
- Small, G. W. Germanic case of comparison. 1929. (Language monographs, no. 4)
- Smaradahana; oudjavaansche tekst met vertaling uitg. door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka. 1931. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 3)

- Smith, M. W. Studies in the syntax of the Gathas of Zarathushtra. 1929.
- South, H. P. Dating and localization of "The proverbs of Alfred". 1931.
- South Manchuria railway company. Report on progress in Manchuria, 1907-1928. 1929.
- Second report on progress in Manchuria to 1930. 1931.
- Speiser, E. A. Mesopotamian origins. 1930.
- Steindorff, B. Die Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs. 1926. (Monographien zur Weltgeschichte. 10)
- Subrahmanya Sastri, P. S. Tolkappiyam. v. 1. 1930. (Madras oriental series, no. 3)
- Swanton, J. R. Source material for the social and ceremonial life of the Choctaw Indians. 1931. (U. S. Bureau of American ethnology. Bulletin 103)
- Thompson, J. E. Archaeological investigations in the southern Cayo district, British Honduras. 1931. (Field museum of natural history. Publication 301. Anthropol. series, v. 17, no. 3)
- Thompson, J. E. Ethnology of the Mayas of southern and central British Honduras. 1930. (Field museum of nat. hist. Pub. 274. Anthropol. series, v. 17, no. 2)
- Torrey, C. C. Pseudo-Ezekiel and the original prophecy. 1930. (Yale Oriental series. Researches, v. 18)
- Tübingen. Universität. Bibliothek. Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften. II. 1930.
- Upanishads. Chândogya-upaniṣad, tr. et annotée par E. Senart. 1930.
- Upanishads. The thirteen principal Upanishads, tr. by R. E. Hume. 2d ed. 1931.
- Upendranātha Ghoshāl. The agrarian system in ancient India. 1930. (Calcutta university readership lectures, 1930)
- Upendranātha Ghoshāl. Contributions to the history of the Hindu revenue system. 1929.
- Usāmah ibn Murshid. (Murāyid al-Daulah). An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the crusades. 1929. (Records of civilization: sources and studies)
- Vedas. Rigveda. Inni del Rig-veda. I. [1929] (Testi e documenti per la storia delle religioni, 2)
- Waterman, L. Preliminary report upon the excavations at Tel Umar, Iraq. 1931. (Univ. of Michigan publications)
- Waxman, M. A history of Jewish literature from the close of the Bible to our own days. I. 1930.
- Wetmore, A. The birds of Haiti and the Dominican republic. 1931. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 155)
- Wichmann, Y. J. Volksdichtung und Volksbräuche der Tscheremissen. 1931. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia 59)
- Willman-Grabowska, H. Les composés nominaux dans le Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. 1927-28. 2 v. (Prace Komisji orientalistycznej Polskiej akademji umiejętności, nr. 10, 12)

Wissler, C. Growth of children in Hawaii. 1930. (Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop museum., v. 11, no. 2) Bayard Dominick expedition. Publication no. 17.

Yahuda, A. S. Eine Erwiderung auf Wilhelm Spiegelberg's "Ägyptologische Bemerkungen" zu meinem Buche "Die Sprache des Penta-teuch". 1930. (Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete, Bd. 7, Hft. 2)

Upon motion the report of the Librarian was accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

In the absence of the Editors the Corresponding Secretary presented their report as follows:

Since the last meeting of the Society Nos. 2-4 of Volume 51 have been issued, and No. 1 of Volume 52 is now off the press and in process of distribution. Under authorization of the Board of Directors, the editors have increased the size of the Journal during the past year; Volume 51 contained 37 more pages than Volume 50. The policy of increasing the size of the Journal should be continued.

The editing of the Journal has been handicapped by the inability of the senior editor to assume the duties which have been his for a number of years. Illness has made it impossible for him to give the JOURNAL the benefit of his wide and accurate scholarship and high editorial competence.

The two junior editors wish to express appreciation of the kindness of those scholars in the Semitic and kindred fields who have given them help with the JOURNAL.

W. NORMAN BROWN,  
J. K. SNEYOCK,  
*Editors.*

Upon motion the report of the Editors was accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee as printed in the JOURNAL (51. 290; 52. 101).

Upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons recommended by the Directors were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list includes eight who were elected at a later session):

Dr. Allen D. Albert	Mr. Shlomo Marenof
Rabbi Herbert I. Bloom	Prof. Herbert Miller
Mr. Robert J. Braidwood	Swami Nikhilananda
Rabbi William G. Braude	Rev. Arthur C. Piepkorn
Dr. Fletcher S. Brockman	Prof. Robert T. Pollard
Dr. Herrlee G. Creel	Miss Elizabeth Stefanski
Miss Florence E. Day	Miss Nancy Lee Swann
Prof. Lucy C. Driscoll	Mr. Eleazar I. Szadzunski
Prof. Thomas E. Ennis	Mr. Ryusaku Tsunoda
Rabbi I. Gerstein	Mr. Upton Close
Mr. C. D. Gooneratne	Prof. George Vernadsky
Mr. Battiscombe Gunn	Dr. Arnold Walther
Mr. George R. Hughes	Prof. Frank G. Ward
Dr. William F. Hummel	Prof. Edwin W. Webster
Rev. Walter Klein	Mr. Walter G. Williams
Mr. Kenneth P. Landon	Rev. Rolland E. Wolfe
Dr. C. W. McEwan	Mr. Wallace I. Wolverton

[Total 34]

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor W. E. Clark presented the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1932 as follows:

President: Professor ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD, of Chicago.

Vice-Presidents: Professor HAROLD H. BENDER, of Princeton; Professor ROMAIN BUTIN, of Washington; Professor J. M. POWIS SMITH, of Chicago.

Corresponding Secretary: Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of New York.

Recording Secretary: Dr. LUDLOW BULL, of New York.

Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of New Haven.

Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOGH, of New Haven.

Editors of the JOURNAL: Professor MAX L. MARGOLIS, Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, and Dr. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, of Philadelphia.

Directors to serve for three years: Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of Philadelphia; Professor EDGAR H. STURTEVANT, of New Haven; Dr. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, of Washington.

The Corresponding Secretary then presented the resignation, on the ground of ill health, of Professor Margolis as an Editor of the JOURNAL.

Upon motion the resignation of Professor Margolis was accepted with great regret and with appreciation of his services as Editor.

Professor Clark then stated, in view of Professor Margolis's resignation, that the name of Professor James A. Montgomery of

Philadelphia would be placed in the report of the Committee on Nominations as an Editor of the JOURNAL, instead of that of Professor Margolis.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

President Schmidt then delivered an address on "Problems Concerning the Origin of Some of the Great Oriental Religions."

The session adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at two o'clock on Tuesday afternoon in the Oriental Institute Lecture Hall. Professor William H. Worrell, President of the Middle West Branch of the Society, delivered an address on "The Geographical-Genetic Relationship of the Five Coptic Dialects."

The reading of papers was then begun.

Professor GEORGE S. DUNCAN, of the American University: Champollion, 1790-1832, the Founder of Egyptology. Remarks by Professor Breasted.

Egyptology had made no real progress until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Horapollon and Kircher indulged in wild speculations productive of no scholarly results. The discovery of the Rosetta stone, 1799, was epoch-making for the progress of Egyptology. Zoega, 1755-1807, found that ovals contained royal names. Akerblad, 1760-1819, interpreted the name Ptolemy in the demotic. De Sacy, 1758-1838, read three names in the same language. Thomas Young, 1773-1829, read the name Ptolemy in the hieroglyphic, and began a hieroglyphic alphabet and a hieroglyphic vocabulary of two hundred signs not alphabetic. His pioneer work was very important. Champollion, contemporary of Young but working independently of him, reached somewhat similar results but advanced far beyond anything yet attained. He showed the hieroglyphics to be alphabetic, phonetic, and ideographic. He found the correct values of several proper names. His most important works were an Egyptian Grammar, 3 vols.; and an Egyptian dictionary, both published after his death.

Professor CAMPBELL BONNER, of the University of Michigan: Interpretations of some Graeco-Egyptian (Gnostic) Amulets.

This paper offers interpretations of three amulets of the kind commonly called gnostic.

1. A figure of a man holding a serpent, the bodies of both set with stars. This is the constellation Ophiuchus, and the design is closely related, as regards the arrangement of the stars, to the description of the constellation in the *Katasterismoi* attributed to Eratosthenes. Further, a passage in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies* shows

that Ophiuchus was taken by certain Christians who inclined to gnostic beliefs as a symbol of Christ wrestling with the evil demon.

2. An amulet bearing on both sides the design of a mummified figure. The legend on one side reads "Memnon, child of Day, is dead"; on the other "Antipater, child of Philippa, is dead." The design was probably intended to bring about the death of Antipater by sympathetic magic.

3. A figure of a nude woman supporting her body in a squatting position by a sort of frame-work, apparently intended for a chair. The design is shown to belong to a large group of amulets intended to cure ailments peculiar to women; and the chair is perhaps the only known example of the *δῶρος ματευρικός*, or obstetric chair, which was used in accouchements and is described in detail by Soranus in his work on gynaecology.

Professor CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Northwestern University: Some Recent Legislation Affecting Religion in India.

In general the British Government has refrained from legislation against practices associated closely with religion in India. The native states have been less hesitant in such matters and have in some cases outlawed practices connected with religion which have been prejudicial to life or offensive to the moral sense of large sections of society. The dedication of girls to the gods as "devidasis," which has come to mean initiation into a life of prostitution, has long been repugnant to the moral sense of a growing section of Hindu society, and a campaign of moral suasion has been carried on against it. This having proven ineffective, the opponents of the system have resorted to legislation. Mysore outlawed it in 1909, recently Travancore followed the same course. Legislation has been passed in a number of British states, notably Madras; but finally legislation has been introduced into the Indian Legislative Assembly to make it illegal in any British province. Apparently it has not yet become law, but there is very powerful support for it, and despite the strong resistance from among orthodox Hindu groups who charge that religion is being attacked, the day of the "devidasi" in India is probably near its close.

Professor J. M. POWIS SMITH, of the University of Chicago: The Hebrew Indebtedness to their Neighbors.

The Hebrews were first cousins so to speak of all Semites. Their languages were all very closely related. They made their home on the bridge connecting Asia with Africa. Literature passed back and forth freely among the Semitic peoples. Egypt furnished the basis for some Hebrew literature. Babylonia furnished the basis for other stories and laws. But the Hebrews greatly improved that which they borrowed by substituting monotheistic ideas and ideals for pagan and polytheistic notions.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: Relation of



Certain Gods to Equity and Justice in Early Babylonia. (Printed in JOURNAL 52. 174-178.)

Mr. HENRY FIELD, Assistant Curator, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago: The Antiquity of Man in Southwestern Asia.

This paper will deal with the recent discoveries which prove the existence of prehistoric man in southwestern Asia, and the adjoining territories. Particular emphasis will be laid on the results of the Field Museum North Arabian Desert Expeditions.

The results obtained prove the existence of man in a palaeolithic phase of culture in the now almost waterless region lying between the Hedjāz railway and Baghdād. Furthermore, in prehistoric times this region must have been fertile and well-watered, and able to support a large semi-nomadic population. The results suggest that southwestern Asia was either a great center from which radiated numerous migratory tribes; or it lay on one of the great lines of migration from Asia into Africa.

Professor GEORGE L. ROBINSON, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago: Horsfield's Findings at Petra in 1929.

The University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, England, now houses the "finds" of Mr. George Horsfield and his colleagues, Miss Conway and Drs. Nielsen and Canaan, who spent three weeks in the Spring of 1929 at Petra excavating at different points. Among their discoveries were the probable Palace and Sanctuary of King Aretas III, and near the Court of the Great High Place pottery, the thinnest ever hitherto unearthed, which they assume was once used to scoop up the blood of the sacrifices and in turn sprinkle it on the image of Dushara.

Professor R. B. HALL, of the University of Wisconsin: Settlement in the Yamato Basin.

Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto: The Latest Finds at Nuzi.

An account of the chief discoveries made at Nuzi during the last season there, 1930-31.

DR. BARON MAX VON OPPENHEIM, of the Orient-Forschungs-Institut, Berlin: The Civilization of the Tell Ḥalāf.

The session adjourned at 6.30 P. M.

At 8.00 P. M. the members reassembled in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute to hear the following addresses descriptive of the work of archaeological expeditions in the field, illustrated by moving picture films:

Mr. HENRY FIELD, of the Field Museum of Natural History: The Field Museum-Oxford University Expedition to Kish.

Dr. H. H. VON DER OSTEN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Anatolian Expedition of the Oriental Institute.

After these addresses there was an informal reception in the Library of the Institute and those present had an opportunity to inspect the Egyptian and Assyro-Babylonian collections of the Institute.

### THE THIRD SESSION

Following the sight-seeing drive which gave those who took advantage of it an opportunity to inspect one of the buildings of the new Chicago Exposition, the members inspected the collections of the Field Museum and after luncheon assembled at 2.30 P. M. for the third session in the large Lecture Hall of the Art Institute. The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Dr. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, of Toledo, Ohio: Two Fragmentary Royal Reliefs of the Egyptian Old Kingdom belonging to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Miss HELEN C. GUNSAULUS, Assistant Curator, The Art Institute of Chicago: Nara-ye-bon, or the Picture Books of Nara.

A very rare type of Japanese illustrated book is that known as Nara-bon or Nara books. Nara-bon are so called because they all seem to have been made only in the old city of Nara in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. These books are hand-written and hand-illuminated, having been made before the art of printing illustrated books had been brought to perfection. While the artists are not men of supreme skill, there is a charm of color and rendition in the illustrations which make these books of intense interest. The Art Institute owns seven of these examples which are now on exhibition. Very evidently they are adaptations from old scroll paintings and are the connecting link between the storied makimono and the first printed illustrated books.

Professor LEROY WATERMAN, of the University of Michigan: Some results of the season's work at Sepphoris in Galilee and at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. (University of Michigan Expeditions.)

A sketch of the work initiated at ancient Sepphoris last summer, which was carried on through July and August. The more important finds will be discussed and slides will be shown of the Roman Theater and an early Christian Church unearthed.

A four months' season at Seleucia beginning in September resulted in the complete excavation of a third level Parthian palace in "Block B" and the registration of over 4,000 objects. At the same time work was undertaken on the local ziggurat and carried far enough to reveal

three stages of construction extending from the Parthian period to the Babylonian.

Professor W. R. TAYLOR, of the University of Toronto: Nestorian Crosses in China.

A discussion of some recent archaeological discoveries in the North-western section of China.

Professor RAYMOND A. BOWMAN, of Northwestern University: The Scorpion Man in Ancient Art.

Scorpion men are mentioned in the creation story and in the Gilgamesh epic. A human-headed scorpion with human arms, many legs, and long tail appears on archaic seals from Susa and in rare Saitic bronzes of the Goddess Selket. Early in the Sumerian period the form was neglected, but returns more advanced, complex, and bird-like on Cassite boundary stones. As the scorpion-bird-man it is popular on seals of Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian times. It is found in relief and in the round in massive stone figures at Tell Halaf and as a bronze figurine from Kish.

At this point the members had the privilege of hearing an illustrated lecture by Dr. Sven Hedin, the eminent Swedish scientist, present as the guest of the Society, in which he summarized the results of several of his expeditions in central Asia.

The session adjourned at 5.00 P. M.

The Annual Dinner of the Society took place on Wednesday evening at the Hotel Windermere East.

#### THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order at 9.45 A. M. on Thursday, in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors had accepted the invitation of Columbia University to hold the next meeting in New York during Easter Week 1933.

The following minute was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society cordially endorses the resolution adopted by the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists at Leiden in 1931 regarding the value of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* and the importance of reviving and continuing it. This publication is in our opinion the most important tool for the aid of scholarly research in the whole field of oriental studies. We earnestly hope that funds may be found for the resumption of its publication on the same general lines as in the past. In the field of work represented by our Society, no project of similar nature can equal it in importance.

It was voted that the Society should designate one of its members, in compliance with the will of the late Professor Lidzbarski, in which the Society was named, to serve on a committee to award the Lidzbarski Prize and Medal.

On motion Professor Torrey was elected to represent the Society on the committee to award the Lidzbarski Prize and Medal.

#### REPORT OF THE PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

In the absence of Professor Archer, Chairman of the Publications Committee, the Corresponding Secretary read his report as follows:

##### AMERICAN ORIENTAL SERIES.

*The Panchatantra Reconstructed* by F. Edgerton was published in an edition of 500 copies (by Holzhausen, Vienna), at a cost of \$2,221.20, plus \$150 customs charges. Of this stock the Oxford Press received 222 copies, the Yale Press, 200. In April, 1930, Oxford sent Yale 75 sets. The stock now on hand with the Oxford Press is about 80 sets, with Yale, 147 (including 75 deposited in the Library of the Society). Apparently review copies were freely distributed at first. No account has ever been obtained from the publisher. The price was recently raised from \$10 to \$12 per set.

*A Tagalog Grammar* by Frank R. Blake was published by Drugulin in an edition of 500 copies, 300 of which he retained as part of the publication contract, the Society to receive 10% of the proceeds on the first 50 copies sold by Drugulin (no accounting has ever been received). Of the original edition the Oxford Press received 100 copies, the Yale Press, 96. In 1931 Oxford sent 54 copies to Yale, retaining about 20. The stock now on hand, exclusive of Drugulin's stock, is: Oxford Press about 20 copies, Yale Press, 53. The price now is \$6.00, having formerly been \$5.00.

##### LIBRARY OF ANCIENT SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

*The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* by George A. Barton was published in an edition of 553 copies at a cost of \$3,008.06, by the Yale Press. Copies sold, 109. Copies sent for review, 67. The present stock: 9 at Oxford (on consignment), 64 at Yale, exclusive of unbound copies numbering 304. The list price is \$6.50.

##### FUNDS.

See the 1931 Report of the Treasurer for the state of funds as regards the above publications.

The *Catalogue* of the Society's Library was published last year (1931) from funds supplied by Professor Jewett in an edition of 800 copies, 100 of which were bound. About 16 have been sold at \$1.00. About 32 have been otherwise distributed. The original cost was \$1,677.91. This was

met by \$1,675.63 in the accumulated Jewett fund. The balance has been met by income. The proceeds go into general funds hereafter.

J. C. ARCHER, *Chairman,*  
*Publications Committee.*

In the absence of Professor Dougherty, Chairman of the Committee on the Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions, the Corresponding Secretary read his report.

President Schmidt reported for the Committee on a Corporate Seal.

It was voted to accept the form of seal presented by the committee with certain alterations as to details recommended by the Board of Directors, which alterations were to be carried through by the Executive Committee.

Professor Olmstead reported as representative of the Society on the American Schools of Oriental Research.

#### REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

In the absence of the Delegates of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies, the Corresponding Secretary read their report as follows:

The annual meeting of the Council was held in Washington, D. C., on January 29-30, 1932. Both your delegates attended all the sessions. Professor Edgerton also attended on January 28, 1932, the meeting of the Advisory Board of the Council, to which he was elected in 1931. The work of the Council continues to be fruitful and effective, and a very large proportion of the projects which it supports, financially and otherwise, falls within the range of interest of this Society. This year the Council appropriated \$5,000 provisionally for the proposed American School of Indic and Iranian Studies in Benares, provided it should be possible to found the School during the next two years, and with the further understanding that an additional \$5,000 would in that event probably be made available for the second year of the School's existence. However, owing chiefly to political conditions in India, the Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies, which has charge of the project for the School, does not consider it advisable to attempt its foundation at the present moment.

Other projects of interest to our Society, which received grants from the Council at this meeting, were the following: a Survey of Chinese Studies, a Survey of Indonesian Customary Law, Excavations at Samaria, Olynthus, Antioch, and Haifa, and a Corpus of the Commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle. The status of the *Orientalische Bibliographie* was

also brought to the attention of the Council; while no funds can be appropriated for it from the Council's own resources, because it is not primarily an American undertaking, it was recommended that the Executive Committee of the Council should make efforts to secure outside funds for the aid of this and similar European projects now endangered by the financial crisis in Europe, after satisfying itself in each case of the international importance and need of the particular publication.

Attention should again be called to the valuable Fellowships and Grants in Aid of Research offered each year by the Council, the cash value of which amounts in all to nearly \$100,000 annually. Scholars in oriental fields should take note of the opportunity offered by these Fellowships and Grants, information on which can be secured from the office of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

In addition to the Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies, the Council maintains standing Committees on Promotion of Chinese, Japanese, and Byzantine Studies, and on Mediterranean Antiquities.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY,  
FRANKLIN EDGERTON,

*Delegates.*

It was voted to accept the report.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Board of Directors had elected President Schmidt to succeed Professor Montgomery as a delegate of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies.

Professors Gale and Meek reported on the Eighteenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Leiden in September.

Professor Sellers reported for the delegates to the Second International Congress of Linguists held at Geneva in August.

The President announced that he had appointed as a Committee on Resolutions, Professors Meek, Bittenwieser and Duncan.

Mr. Henry Field explained to the Society the aims of the New Orient Society of America.

It was voted to express the warm interest of the Society in the New Orient Society.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Society has been invited to send delegates to the International Congress of Historical Sciences, to be held in Warsaw, Poland, in 1933.

It was voted to refer the invitation to the incoming President of the Society.

Professor Olmstead recommended to the Society a project initiated by Dean Laing and Professor S. J. Case of the University

of Chicago, for bringing together the religious records of the Graeco-Roman world.

The following minute was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society desires to express its keen interest in and hearty approval of the project of Dean Gordon Laing and Professor Shirley J. Case of the University of Chicago, to publish records of religions from the literature of the Graeco-Roman world. A collection of such material would be of obvious value for the religious history of the later ancient Near East and individual members of the Society might well assist in the work of compilation.

#### APPOINTMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The President announced that he had appointed as a Committee on the Nomination of Officers for the year 1933, Professors Edgerton, Gale, and Price.

As Auditors he appointed Professors Dougherty and Latourette.

He appointed the following Committee on Arrangements for the next Annual Meeting: Professors Gottheil and E. G. H. Kraeling, Mrs. Jackson, Rabbi Wise, Dr. Bull, Mr. Goodrich and the Corresponding Secretary *ex officio*.

#### BUSINESS SESSION OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH

The Middle West Branch met in the Lecture Room of the Oriental Institute at 9.30 Thursday morning with the President, Professor W. H. Worrell, presiding.

The Branch chose a nominating committee consisting of Professors Price, Bittenwieser, and Waterman.

Professor Sellers offered and the Branch accepted the following Treasurer's report:

Received from the Treasurer of the Society.....	\$100.00
Expenditures:	
Deficit reported in 1931.....	\$23.75
Postage .....	0.80
Telephone calls.....	.40
	<hr/> 24.95
Balance .....	<hr/> \$ 75.05

Mr. J. Arthur MacLean presented to the Branch an invitation to hold its 1933 meeting in Toledo at the Toledo Museum of Art.

The invitation was accepted with thanks and the time of the meeting left in the hands of the executive committee and the local committee on arrangements.

The nominating committee proposed for the ensuing year the following officers, who were unanimously elected:

President: Professor CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Evanston.

Vice-President: Professor W. C. GRAHAM, of Chicago.

Secretary-Treasurer: Professor OVID R. SELLERS, of Chicago.

Members of the Executive Committee: Professor W. H. WORRELL, of Ann Arbor, and Professor HENRY SCHAEFFER, of Chicago.

The meeting adjourned at 9.42.

The session of the Society was continued in three sections.

#### THE HEBREW AND BIBLICAL SECTION

The section met at 11.04 A. M. in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute, Professor J. M. P. Smith presiding. The following papers were read:

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: The Ancient Semitic Marriage Tent and Tent Festivals.

This paper will discuss various terms in different Semitic languages for the marriage-tent or chamber, the fact that quite a number of important Semitic religious festivals bear names identical with or closely related to these various terms for marriage-tent or chamber, that some of the most characteristic rites of these festivals have to do with the marriage-tent or chamber, and the import of all this.

Professor SHELDON H. BLANK, of the Hebrew Union College: The War Legislation in Deuteronomy.

The so-called "War legislation stratum" in Deut. 20, 21 and 23 is not a unit. Even the law Deut. 20.10-17(18) is composite. Verses 15-18 are exclusivistic in the spirit of Nehemiah; verses 10-14 less so. The hopefulnes approaching bravado in this latter section appears in other parts of the war legislation and connects it with the Deuteronomic phrase *כִּי יִרְדּוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶרֶצְכֶּם*. The laws were probably formulated in the early post-exilic period.

Rabbi GRESHAM G. FOX, of Chicago: The Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The habit has been in this country to follow Weber, Wendt, Stevens, and Schürer in the evolution of the meaning of "the yoke of the kingdom of heaven." As a matter of fact, a study of the rabbinic passages dealing with this conception shows that the assumption of



the "yoke" by the rabbinic Jews was a privilege and a duty, joyously undertaken, and regarded with a glad loyalty. The "yoke" was anything but a burden which the Jews could not bear. Jesus regarded the "yoke" as one worthy of being undertaken and, with his contemporaries, looked upon the Torah as the primal essential of Jewish life. The assumption of the "yoke" produced for the rabbinic Jew "the joy of the commandment."

Professor MOSES BUTTENWIESER, of the Hebrew Union College: The Oldest Psalm.

The Psalm has lost its original identity. It is found in Psalm 68, fused with another Psalm, which is about seven centuries younger and dates from the closing years of the exile. While the exilic Psalm is complete, the ancient Psalm is fragmentary. It consists of verses 8-9, 16-18, 12-13, 14b, 15, 19a-b, 25-28, 14a, but shows three gaps: the first is after verse 14b; the second, after verse 25; the third, after verse 28; the conclusion is also missing. This old Psalm differs radically in content and tone as well as in language and style from the exilic Psalm. Its theme is the victory of Deborah: like the Song of Deborah it was written by an eyewitness.

Professor NELSON GLUECK, of the Hebrew Union College: The Word *to'ebah* in the Old Testament.

In the few preexilic passages dealing with *to'ebah*, where the word is an original part of the text, it has the connotation of something generally objectionable (Amos 5: 10; 6: 8; Micah 3: 9). The general meaning is retained in the exilic period (Isa. 49: 7; Ezekiel 16: 25, 52). In Ezekiel, however, *to'ebah* usually refers to idols and to idolatrous practices. In the late exilic and post-exilic period, *to'ebah* is an abominable act, making community and land unclean. To remove the guilt, the entire community had to participate in stoning the offender to death (Lev. 18: 22-30; 20: 2, 13, 22-27; Ezek. 16: 40; Jer. 32: 35; Deut. 21: 21). In still later writings the meaning of *to'ebah* is considerably expanded.

Professor MOSES BAILEY, of Wellesley College: Some Editorial Passages in the Minor Prophets.

Reverend Dr. ARTHUR R. SIEBENS, of Bowling Green, Ohio: Cause and Effect in Hebrew Lawmaking.

#### THE SECTION FOR EGYPTOLOGY, ASSYRIOLOGY AND RELATED STUDIES

The section met at 11 A. M. in the Common Room of the Oriental Institute, Professor Worrell presiding. The following papers were read:

Professor JOHN A. WILSON, of the Oriental Institute, University of

Chicago: Ancient Text Corrections in an Egyptian Temple. Remarks by Professor Breasted.

In the temple of Medinet Habu of the 20th dynasty, the hieroglyphic inscriptions, cut in deep sunken relief, show numerous textual corrections. Most of these seem to have been made as the result of a scribal inspection immediately after the texts had been carved and painted. Revisions were made by plastering up and recarving the censored element. Such changes were based on improvement of appearance, correction of error, or new conditions necessitating restatement. They offer a study of the Egyptian attitude toward their inscriptions.

Dr. LUDLOW BULL, Associate Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Egyptian Funerary Model of a Scribe's Palette, with Inscriptions.

Professor FRANK H. HALLOCK, of Nashotah House: The Study of Coptic. Remarks by Professor Worrell.

(1) Seventeenth and eighteenth century beginnings. (2) A résumé of nineteenth and twentieth century achievements. (3) What has been done in America. (4) What remains to be done.

Miss ELIZABETH STEFANSKI, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: A Ninth-Century Christian Tombstone from Egypt. Remarks by Professor Worrell.

The Coptic tombstone in the collections of the Oriental Institute is interesting primarily for its date, which is not only very late, but is also given according to two systems: "After Diocletian 610, year of the Saracens 280." Since the Moslem year is eleven days shorter than the Julian year, the 280th Moslem year would be equivalent to the 272nd Julian year from the date of the Hegira, 622 A. D. This gives us the date 894 A. D., which coincides with the 610th year after Diocletian, whose rule began in 284 A. D. The monument is from Thebes and, in spite of a certain illiteracy of style and crudeness of execution, it is by no means unintelligible.

Professor A. POEBEL, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Words for "Year" in Sumerian and Egyptian.

The Sumerian word for "year," *mu-an-na* (grammatically analyzed *mu-ann-a(k)*), means literally "name of heaven." This strange designation explains itself by the fact that the years were not simply counted as "first year," "second year," etc., but were given names. These were the well-known date formulas. Properly speaking, however, it was not the year itself that was named; but the heaven or the heavenly firmament after every seeming revolution around its axis received a new name. The expression "during that or that name of heaven," therefore, was equivalent with "during that or that year"; and "name of Heaven" thus became the word for "year."

It is a well-known fact that the Egyptians, in the oldest periods of their history, also practised the custom of naming the year and quoting it by its name. In the light of our observations on the Sumerian word

it is therefore evident that the Egyptian *rnpt*, Coptic *rompe* (*rampe*, etc.) is not a derivation of a verbal stem *rnpi* "to become young," "to renew itself," etc., but a composition of *rn*, Coptic *ran* (etc.), "name," and *pt*, Coptic *pe* (etc.), "Heaven."

Rabbi Dr. JULIUS L. SIEGEL, of Chicago, Ill.: The Sinaitic Inscriptions: New Interpretation of the Term  $\text{לַל}$  and its consequences for Dating. Remarks by Professor Sprengling.

The term  $\text{לַל}$  occurring some six times in the Sinaitic inscriptions is best interpreted in the sense of its Biblical parallels, in the forms of  $\text{לַל}$  and  $\text{לַל}$  in I. Sam. 13: 4, II Sam. 8: 6, I Kings 4: 19, I Kings 22: 48, I Chron. 18: 13, and II Chron. 8: 10. The Peshitto renders the term by *šaliṭānā* or *gōyōmā*, and the English versions by "governor", "prefect", or "garrison".

Further, several other parallels between these inscriptions and the general context of the passages cited above all converge to establish the thesis that the Sinaitic inscriptions containing the term  $\text{לַל}$  belong to the same Hebrew  $\text{לַל}$  who ruled Edom in the name of the Hebrew kings from Saul to Jehoshafat.

Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto: Gleanings from the Gasur Texts. Remarks by Dr. Siegel.

In the excavations at Nuzi during the season 1930-31 at a depth of 6½ meters (.69 meters below present plain level), ruins of a city apparently by the name of Ga-sūr were reached. This culture extended evidently through six strata to a further depth of 2.66 meters. In these several strata some 200 tablets were discovered, consisting of 1 map, 1 fragment of a plan, 1 Sumerian word list, 6 letters in Akkadian, while the rest are largely records, partly in Akkadian and partly in Sumerian. The tablets belong to the time of the Agade Dynasty. They contain a host of personal names, three month names, and some 35 place names. Some gleanings from these are presented in the paper.

Professor EDWARD CHIERA, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Marriage in the Nuzi Tablets.

There is quite a difference of opinion as to whether the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians did actually purchase their wives. The high status of woman seems to militate against such a practice. Many unpublished Nuzi documents shed considerable light on this question and show that such was really the case. But there was no stereotyped form of marriage contract in those times and the conditions laid out for the protection of the bride are different in almost every case.

Dr. F. W. GEERS, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Prognostics in Ancient Babylonia.

The life of the Babylonians was permeated by religion and magic. Before taking any important step, they always asked their gods. Their answers were given through omens and soon a large literature

developed, which was handed down from generation to generation. These beliefs spread over the whole civilized world and it appears that also the latin "auspiciu" (bird omens) and "haruspiciu" (liver omens) have their origin in Babylonia.

Mr. RICHARD T. HALLOCK, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Chicago Syllabary and the Syllabary AO 7661.

By a list of cuneiform signs and their phonetic values in CT XLI, pl. 47-48, it can be shown that the syllabary AO 7661 is the immediate continuation of the Chicago Syllabary. Moreover, the first line of AO 7661 is found as catch-line at the end of the Chicago Syllabary. A comparison of the writing of the phonetic values in the CT list with that of the two syllabaries shows that the former is much older than the latter. Many other observations help to establish this fact. The list is therefore a very valuable aid in reconstructing the older forms of the syllabaries.

### THE FAR EASTERN SECTION

The section met at 11 A. M. in the Library of the Oriental Institute, Professor Gale presiding. The following papers were read:

Professor LUCY DRISCOLL, of the University of Chicago: The Eight Canons of Ts'ai Yung. Remarks by Professor Kiang K'ang-hu.

Popular tradition attributes a famous system of training for the calligraphist, the eight canons of the character *yung* (永字八法), to Ts'ai Yung (蔡邕) of the later Han, reputed founder of the art of calligraphy. This system consists of the analysis of the dynamic possibilities of the eight balanced strokes of the character *yung*. Through the centuries calligraphists varied and elaborated this pattern of energies. Quotation from Ch'en Ssü (陳思) of Sung giving a concrete analysis of each stroke for direction, speed and force, and describing the requisite technique of execution. The attribution of the canons to Ts'ai Yung seems to be late and without evidence.

Professor CLARENCE H. HAMILTON, of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology: K'uei Chi's Commentary to Hsüan Chuang's Wei-shih-er-shih-lun (Translation of Vasubandhu's Vijñaptimātrāsiddhi, Viṃśatikā). Remarks by Professors Clark and Hodous.

Mr. JAMES R. WARE, of the Harvard-Yenching Institute: Wei Shou on Buddhism.

Wei Shou is the author of the History of the Wei, a Chinese dynasty whose official dates, according to the author of the history, are 399-550. This history was completed in 554, and during the succeeding two decades underwent two revisions, neither of which seems to have affected the part which we have under consideration. The work is unique among the twenty-four dynastic histories in that it contains

an essay on Buddhism and Taoism. I have made a translation of this essay, and now have the part on Buddhism ready for publication.

Mr. BENJAMIN MARCH, Curator, Detroit Institute of Arts: Some Technical Terms of Chinese Painting. Remarks by Dr. Laufer.

In the course of the centuries of the development of their pictorial art, the Chinese have formulated an extensive vocabulary of special technical terms describing strokes, processes, type pattern forms, etc. To illustrate this vocabulary the four steps in the painting of mountains and rocks, *kou* 鈎, *ts'un* 皴, *jan* 染 and *tien* 點, are discussed in their various aspects and ramifications.

Miss NANCY LEE SWANN, of McGill University: The Edition of Sutra No. 1, Collection No. I (Nanjio No. 88, 大方廣佛華嚴經 *Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvāipulya* sutra), of The Gest Chinese Research Library. Remarks by Dr. Hummel, Dr. Kiang, Dr. Creel, and Dr. Swingle.

Of the two early collections of sutras in the Gest Chinese Research Library, the first sutra of Collection No. I is an assembled edition. Of the eighty fasciculi in the sutra, fifty-six are unpunctuated Ming manuscripts, undated, but probably written about 1600 A. D. According to the date from an examination of the paper, two *ch'uan*, and perhaps a third, are individual fasciculi from pre-Ming editions, while four other fasciculi belong to one or more Ming editions. A group of fifteen fasciculi can be dated upon internal evidence as *ch'uan* from the original edition carved in 1399 A. D. in the temple of T'ien-lung, 天龍禪寺, near Hangchow, Chekiang Province.

Professor PAUL HIBBERT CLYDE, of the University of Kentucky; Frederick F. Low and the Tientsin Massacre.

The despatches of the American Minister at Peking, Frederick F. Low, to the Secretary of State, during the months following the so-called Tientsin Massacre, present a clear-cut picture of the events described and a most temperate and just appraisal of the merits of this significant episode in Franco-Chinese diplomatic relations. This correspondence from the Archives of the American State Department reveals the serious diplomatic problems created by the treaty-status enjoyed or claimed by the missionaries; the special objections entertained by China toward the French-Catholic missions; and finally the unfortunate consequences to Franco-Chinese relations which may be laid to the character of the French Chargé at Peking.

Professor WILLIAM J. HAIL, of the College of Wooster: A Diplomatic Episode: China's effort to open direct relations with the Vatican.

To secure relief from the constantly recurring irritation and fear of foreign complications caused by the French claim to control the diplomatic relations of all Catholic missions in China, the Chinese Government, through Li Hung-chang, made an attempt (1885-1886), in connection with negotiations regarding the removal of the P'ei T'ang (North Cathedral) to a new site, to have the control of Catholic

Missions placed under a Papal representative in Peking. The paper narrates the story of these negotiations.

Professor KIANG K'ANG-HU, of McGill University, a member of the Conference on Far Eastern Studies: The Cultural Bond between China and Japan.

A brief account of international relations between China and Japan before modern times. The principal information is gathered from Chinese Dynastic Histories and a special emphasis is placed on the early cultural bond between these two peoples. The origins of Japanese religions, philosophy, art and literature are traced back to China with data on their introduction. Many interesting items unknown to modern scholars are cited with an attempted explanation of the diversity of national characteristics each developed. The present Japanese policy toward China is also analytically studied and a speculation of its result is made, based on past experience in Chinese historical events.

As the time for adjournment had arrived the following papers were transferred to the Conference on Far Eastern Studies, held Thursday afternoon:

Professor J. W. CREIGHTON, of the College of Wooster: The Communist Period in Canton—October 13, 1924—December 13, 1927.

1. Period delimited by three main events.

1) Crushing of Merchant Volunteers and burning of business section of Canton by Yunnanese and other soldiers. This marked beginning of effective and acknowledged Communist political domination.

2) The Shakee-Shameen Incident, June 23, 1925. This marks height of emotionalism, which furnished background for subsequent boycotts and anti-foreign policies.

3) The fire of December 11-13, 1927. The end of the open period. Reign of terror prevented by unexpected arrival of loyal soldiers.

2. Soviet direction evidenced by statement of unity of Sino-Soviet aims, mutual felicitations and observances of anniversaries, certain overt acts, and other somewhat intangible evidence.

Professor THOMAS EDSON ENNIS, of West Virginia University: Some French Problems in Indochina.

A series of subversive movements, led by local Nationalists and Chinese Communists, is forcing the French government to take steps to counteract the spread of ideas which aim at the destruction of their prestige in Indochina. An agenda has been worked out to bring about the participation in governmental affairs of all groups who are ready tools for revolutionary activity. The question is arising how long the French will tolerate a costly experiment, despite the efficient propa-

ganda used by the government to show the economic advantages to be gained by adhering to a colonial policy in the Far East.

Professor MAURICE T. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: Cooperative Research between Sinologues and Other Academic Specialists.

Inadequacies in present historical and analytical treatments of Chinese social institutions suggest the advisability of cooperation between specialists in Chinese language and documentary sources, and specialists in other academic divisions like the individual social sciences, assuming some saturation by both in the life or literature of the people. Particularly urgent is this cooperation for the study of generalized and social-psychological complexes such as social status, ritualism and the-use-of-language-as-social-gesture, utility and *cha-buh-doah*, group responsibility and solidarity, aspects of settling conflict (e. g., discussion and compromise, mediators, criteria of justice, mass action), "face" and *chee*, etc.

Mr. A. KAIMING CHIU, of the Chinese Library, Harvard University: Library Resources and Book Markets in China: A Preliminary Report.

The purpose is to help those American students of sinology who are contemplating the pursuit of advanced studies in China by indicating the most important centres where there are Chinese libraries and book markets, such as the Peiping-Tientsin area, the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow area, and the Wu-han area. In each area, public and private libraries which have notable collections of old Chinese books will be described under three headings: (1) brief history; (2) strength of collection; and (3) organization for use.

In each centre, the prominent book-trade streets and important stores will be taken up and their wares, customs and trade practices will be described. Finally, descriptions of the various institutions will be followed by a suggested list of pertinent publications, which will be a further guide to enable newcomers to find their way about in these old centres of learning.

## THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order at 2.30 P. M. on Thursday, in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute.

In the absence of the President of the Society President Morgestern, of Hebrew Union College, presided.

The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Professor ALBERT H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Influence of Marco Polo on the Great Discoveries.

This paper, which does not pretend to novelty or originality, discusses the revelation which the Book of Marco Polo made for men of the 14th and 15th centuries who read it carefully and believingly. Various writers and map makers show their indebtedness. Its influ-

ence upon Prince Henry "The Navigator", Christopher Columbus and other explorers is evident in several ways. They actually read it, they reasoned from its information, and they breathed an atmosphere which it had modified. An interesting question is how far the interest in the spice trade which developed in the second half of the 15th century was due to Marco Polo's descriptions.

Professor O. R. SELLERS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago: The Coins of Beth-zur and Hellenistic History.

Coins found at Beth-zur during the 1931 excavation were predominantly in the fortress on top of the hill and in the adjacent shops and living quarters. Nine Greek or imitation Greek coins of the 5th and 4th centuries B. C. testify to the presence of Greek influence in Palestine during the two centuries before Alexander the Great. The first three Ptolemies are credited with 46 coins, while after the capture of Palestine by the Seleucids only three Ptolemaic coins appear. Ten coins are of Antiochus the Great. As is indicated by I Macc., Beth-zur attained its greatest prosperity during the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes and just afterward; 124 coins are of that king. No mention is made of Beth-zur in I Macc. after the time of John Hyrcanus. There were sixteen of his coins and subsequently only sporadic surface coins. Evidently with the Judaizing of Idumea Beth-zur lost its importance as a frontier post and was abandoned.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS NIMS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago: Metal Objects from Beth Zur.

Among the objects discovered at Beth Zur in the past summer's campaign were a number of metal pieces, mostly of bronze and iron. These will be illustrated with slides, and include spatulae, crochet hooks, hair pins, needles, rings, ploughshares, spear and arrow heads, nails, knives, a pick axe, etc.

Mr. ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, of the University of Michigan: Gold Jewelry found at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

During the past four years, various pieces of Parthian jewelry have been found at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Rings, bracelets, and ear pieces of the common metals have been recovered, as well as a variety of gems, some very well cut and engraved. Of particular interest are twelve pieces of gold jewelry, set with gems or pearls. The jewels are in excellent condition, the elements of each piece being extremely well preserved considering their antiquity. They are worthy of the archaeologist's attention in that they are the first important pieces of jewelry to be taken from a definitely Parthian level.

Mr. ROBERT H. McDOWELL, of the University of Michigan: Sealings and Seal Impressions from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.

The several varieties of sealings embracing the Seleucid and the Parthian periods, from approximately 300 B. C. to 220 A. D., bear the impressions of 233 different seals. Impressions of official seals cover-



ing the whole Seleucid period refer to the Salt Administration; the use of the harbor; the importation, and two forms of registration, of slaves; the registration of contracts, and of transactions involving the stewards of royal estates. In spite of the preponderant volume of excavation in Parthian levels, no evidence has been recovered of Parthian administrative organization. The whole group shows predominant "Greek", rather than "Oriental", religious, social, and artistic concepts.

Mr. ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR., of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Some Evidence for Ancient City Planning.

Inscriptions of the Sargonid kings of Assyria and the Chaldean dynasty of Babylon reveal definite "city planning." Excavation and investigation of certain earlier periods indicate this to have been the case elsewhere. Study of Assyrian terms for "street", "road", "square", and the like show a formal, informed physical organization of city functions.

Dr. ALLEN D. ALBERT, of Chicago, Ill.: The Debt of Modern Cities to the Ancient Near East.

Recent archaeological reports confirm earlier indications that topographical and social pattern of modern city was established in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Social organization included middle class and definite citizenship. Functions included refuge, retail and wholesale trade, limited manufacturing, banking, government, assembly, recreation and religion. City plan provided streets crossing at approximate right angles, arterial thoroughfares, markets, water and drainage services and temples. Land trade areas were ellipses as in modern times. Phoenicia provided first locations on deep water and first instance of trade as primary city objective. Lacks in ancient city life were of services or equipment made possible by subsequent advance of science or incident to full conception of individual liberty, and did not reach to fundamentals of city organization.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

On motion of Professor Meek the following minute was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society in appreciation of a most successful meeting in Chicago would hereby express its sincerest thanks to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago for its many courtesies. The Society has probably never met under happier circumstances, nor has it ever been more generously entertained. The Committee on Arrangements, together with the other local members of the Society, have proved themselves most hospitable hosts. It has also been a source of great pleasure to have had such inspiring addresses as those given by our distinguished visitors, Baron von Oppenheim and Dr. Sven Hedin, and to them we owe a debt of gratitude.

The Society, too, would express its deepest thanks to the authorities of the Field Museum for providing for our intensely interesting visit to its rare collections, some of which were put on display for our special benefit.

A vote of thanks is also due the Art Institute of Chicago for its entertainment of the Society on Wednesday afternoon, and to the New Orient Society of America for its participation in the reception on Tuesday evening.

Finally the Society would express its thanks to the Quadrangle Club of the University of Chicago for the privileges so cordially extended. Nothing that could have added to the pleasure of the meeting was overlooked, and to one and all the Society extends its heartiest thanks.

The reading of papers was resumed.

Dr. GEORGE V. BOBRINSKOY, of the University of Chicago: The rite of *dantadhāvana* in Sanskrit literature. (Printed in JOURNAL 52. 163-167.)

Miss NEJLA M. IZZEDDIN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Some problems in connection with the origin of the Druze people. Remarks by Baron von Oppenheim, Professor Sprengling and Mr. Field.

The session adjourned at 5.00 P. M.

## THE SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session was called to order at 8.00 P. M., in the Lecture Hall of the Oriental Institute.

In the absence of the President of the Society President Morgens-tern, of Hebrew Union College, presided.

The reading of papers was immediately begun.

Dr. JAMES E. DEAN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Ancient Syriac Calendar. Remarks by Professor Sprengling and President Morgens-tern.

A translation of the last seven folios of the Karkaphensian manuscript in the possession of Mar Severius, Archbishop of Syria and Lebanon. This manuscript is from an unknown writer, who gives his date as 1003/4 A. D., and the place as the Monastery of the Forty Martyrs, on Dry River, near Melitene. There are six tables and ample explanations. One interesting term employed in these tables is *gentimē*, the Syriac term for the sixty divisions into which Babylonian astronomers divided the 24-hour day. The solar and lunar cycles, Lent, Passover, Christmas, Epiphany, etc. are dealt with.

Mr. WALTER G. WILLIAMS, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: A Study of the Ras Shamra Tablets.

The paper will include a brief résumé and evaluation of work done in connection with the tablets previous to this present study; the new

alphabet and grammatical structures; and a summary of the contents of the tablets, together with implications for historical and Biblical studies.

Dr. I. J. GELB, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Cappadocian Cuneiform Texts from Alishar Hüyük. Remarks by Professors Chiera, Meek and Breasted, and Dr. Walther.

The Oriental Institute excavations in Alishar Hüyük had already produced in 1929 some few fragments of cuneiform tablets. Another larger group, belonging to the so-called "Cappadocian" type, was again found in the season of 1931.

These bring new and valuable information on the still obscure history of Eastern Asia Minor in the third millennium B. C., and furnish new materials for a better understanding of the Old Assyrian language used there in that period.

Mr. GEORGE G. CAMERON, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: New Light on Ancient Persia.

A fragment of an Ashurbanipal prism recently published by Weidner in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* concerns Cyrus I, king of Parsumash. This is not the Assyrian province Parsua, but is the Parsumash of Harper, *Letters*, 961, 1309, 1311, and of the omen, Klauber, *Texte*, 38. New light on the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great is furnished by Neo-Babylonian letters: Conteneau, *Louvre*, IX, 137; Clay, *YOS.*, III, 86, 91, and 145. These deal with the desertion of a temple near Uruk, the entry of the Lady of Uruk into Babylon, and her return from Borsippa under Cyrus.

Mr. ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Annals of Aššurbânapi.

The historical prism fragments in the University of Chicago make it possible to distinguish three fundamental text types in the Assyrian prism annals of Aššurbânapi: (1) Prism E; (2) The *bit-ridûti* foundation deposits (F, N, A); (3) The *bit-mašarti* and *dûr qabal ali* foundation deposits (B, C, D [K]). The probable order of the prisms is: E, F, M (F<sub>2</sub>), B, D (an almost exact duplicate of B), K (K 1703), C ("Col. X" is Col. I), A. The Battle of Tulliz has become the Battle of (Til) Tuba, and B 5, 7 must now be read: (d)šamaš *emur-šû-ma*. According to this passage Teumman was still alive in 653 B. C.

Mr. W. H. DUBBERSTEIN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Interest Rate and Prices in the Chaldaean and Persian Period. Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professor Chiera, and Dr. Gelb.

The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute now has within its files the greater part of the published economic material from this period. Studies in these documents have established the fact that the regular rate of interest on loans of money and agricultural products was twenty percent per year. Comparative prices show that barley

and dates, the basic agricultural products, were practically equal in value. Dates of Dilmun, a select food, were home-grown and not an imported variety. Significant appear the facts that the interest rate doubled, and that prices of staple products advanced in the later Persian age.

Dr. C. W. McEWAN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Divinity of the Achaemenids. Remarks by Professor Sprengling.

Although there is no direct evidence in the Old Persian documents for the deification of the Achaemenids, the Egyptian and Greek data, checking and corroborating late Hellenistic tradition, confirm the existence of the institution from the time of Cyrus and emphasize the necessity of postulating it to explain the continuity of "Oriental" god-kingship from the day when the "kingship descended from heaven" to the monarchy of Alexander and the essentially non-Hellenic patterns of the Diadochoi and their successors.

Mr. ELEAZAR I. SZADZUNSKI, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Materials for the Parthian and Sassanid History in the Talmudical Writings.

The Talmudical writings furnish a great but almost unworked mine of information for the history of the Parthian and particularly the Sassanid periods. The Mishnah, written before the end of Parthian rule, mentions the coming of Babylonian Jews to Jerusalem for the feasts and proves that Magian persecution already existed. Talmudical references to the capture of Sepphoris by the Parthians and to various Sassanian kings are noted. Apparently there was little distinction in dress and customs between Jews and natives. There is more evidence for Jews engaged in agriculture and the handicrafts than in business.

Mr. ROWLAND RATHBUN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Two Sasanian Palaces at Kish, Mesopotamia.

The Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition at Kish, Mesopotamia, has found the fragments of two Sasanian palaces in the form of stucco reliefs. A description of the patterns of these architectural reliefs will be discussed and illustrated, and the restoration of the palaces will be explained.

The session adjourned at 10.20 P. M.

The following papers were read by title:

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: The Zoroastrian and Manichaean Conceptions concerning the Spiritual Nature of Man.

An examination of the fivefold classification of the spiritual faculties of man according to the Avesta in comparison with the pentad recognized in the religion of Mānī.

Professor CHARLES S. BRADEN, of Northwestern University: Jesus in Kashmir.

Professor NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH, of the Dropsie College: A Memphian Papyrus in the British Museum.

Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Bronze Vessel from Central Asia.

A small bronze vessel, published by Dr. Coomaraswamy in *OAS* N. F. 6. 5. 247-9 as probably being from western India and of late Gupta date (or later), has recently been acquired by the Pennsylvania Museum of Art. Further study of the vessel and comparison with antiquities from Central Asia, especially a wooden reliquary box now in the Louvre, seem to indicate a Central Asian provenance.

Reverend G. L. SCHANZLIN, of Baltimore, Md.: The Indian Monetary System of Moghul Times.

Akbar's mint reforms. The wonderfully constant silver standard of one *tolā* of 180 grs. Troy. The curious copper coins based on weight; their even division of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ , and  $\frac{1}{8}$ . Their relation to the modern pice piece. Their relation to the old *kaurī* currency of maritime parts of India. *Koṛās* and *Kauṛīs*.

The origin of the coinage terminology; its close connection with weights, some of them evidently brought by the Moghuls from Central Asia.

The later change from the 160 ratio of copper pieces to the *rupie*, to the modern ratio of 64 bronze tokens to the *rupie*. The ancient Bengali system of accounts a compromise of two conflicting systems, a pure octaval system and another system containing 5 as one of its factors. Prof. Collin's Octaval System of Reckoning.

Maunds, seers, *tolās*, *gaṇḍas*, *pans* and *kāhaṇs*. Tavernier's travel notes on India's monetary system. The breakdown of the copper standard in his time. The weakness also of the *kaurī* currency.

Professor GEORGE W. BRIGGS, of Drew University: An Episode in the Wanderings of Śiva.

This is a story told to explain how the beads used in certain rosaries originated.

Professor W. A. IRWIN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Saul, Samuel and David.

An examination of the sources shows that Samuel had very much less to do with the accession of Saul and of David than is ordinarily believed. Apparently he had no relations whatever with David; and his part in Saul's career is meagre.

Professor HENRY SCHAEFFER, of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Maywood, Ill.: Hebrew יָד and יָפֶה (*Yadh* and *Kaph*): a lexicographical study.

Importance of the hand in ancient economy. The usual Hebrew equivalents for the 'hand' are יָד and יְמִינֵה which are often used interchangeably. Closely related and even at times identical in meaning are יָד, 'arm' and יְמִינֵה 'right hand'.

Not infrequently some uncertainty prevails as to the exact meanings of such terms as יָד and יְמִינֵה in the Old Testament. Reference to Hebrew dictionaries of Brown, Driver, and Briggs (1907), Koenig (1910), and Gesenius-Buhl should be supplemented by studies in Semitic and Indo-European lexicography. The etymological and historical development of the terms studied will often throw light upon the biblical text and incidentally lead to the correction of erroneous statements met with in encyclopedia articles etc.

Professor WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, of the University of Chicago: A suggestion concerning the meaning of *hā-almā* in Isaiah 7: 14.

Mr. SHLOMO MARENOF, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Ephah—Zechariah 5: 5-11.

It has been generally accepted that the "Ephah" mentioned in Zechariah is a measuring vessel. The first Old Testament scholar to digress from this accepted opinion was H. G. Mitchell, who advanced the thought that the Ephah of this vision cannot possibly be the measuring vessel and assumed that the Ephah must represent a "body of similar cylindrical shape." In this paper an attempt will be made to show that the "Ephah" may be a designation for one of the edifices of the deities that existed in Palestine after the destruction of the First Temple. In accordance with this theory a number of phrases of the Ephah vision become more intelligible.

Professor SOLOMON ZEITLIN, of the Dropsie College: The Am Haaretz in the Early Tannaitic Literature.

The term Am Haaretz in tannaitic literature refers to the farmers. Before the Maccabaeon period, the Jewish State developed into two classes, namely, the Clergy and the farmers. The Clergy were mainly supported by the latter. After the Maccabaeon period, when new cities were built and added, another influential class grew up, the urban population. The Am Haaretz refused to support the Clergy further and withheld the *Maasrot*. On this point a clash occurred between the farmers and the urban population. In order to maintain the Clergy it was decreed that the fruit of the farmers is *dema'i* and the consumer must give the *Maasrot* to the Clergy. From this period the animosity between the aristocracy and the demos began to develop. In a later period when the two following factions came into existence, the Fourth Philosophy and the Apocalyptists (the forerunners of Christianity), who preached the gospel of equality, the Am Haaretz (the farmers) joined their ranks.

Professor LESLIE ELMER FULLER, of the Garrett Biblical Institute: The Attitude of the Jew towards the Gentile in Early Jewish Literature.

Professor MARTIN SPRENGLING, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The rôle of the *n-s-b* and the Hieroglyph of the XII. Dynasty in the Invention of Alphabetic Writing.

Professor THOMAS A. BRADY, of the University of Missouri: Ptolemaic Policy and the Cult of Sarapis.

The cult of Sarapis was established and introduced to Greeks during the years before 311 when the capital was at Memphis. Shortly before 285 the Serapeum was built in Alexandria, the new capital. The Memphite cult expanded to Rhodes and Delos, but the other foundations in Greece were planted from the Alexandrian cult. Ptolemy II tried to make Sarapis an imperial deity. The cults of Sarapis in Ceos, Cnidos, and Thera were established by men who were or had been in the Ptolemaic service. All the secondary foundations in the Greek world sprang from branches of the Alexandrian cult.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Oriental Herod as a Roman Client Prince.

Herod is usually pictured as a monster; in reality he was no worse, and no better, than the average contemporary ruler. We understand his reign only when we realize that he was a petty oriental client prince of Rome, whose chief problem was to retain his throne. He therefore opposed the pro-Parthian Sadducean aristocrats, but tolerated the less militant Pharisees. He conciliated his subjects at home by cherishing their national religion; abroad he posed as a typical oriental Hellenistic prince, Hellenic in culture. This likewise explains his government and financial administration, his military colonies and his city foundations.

Dr. MEHMET AGA-OGLU, Curator, Detroit Institute of Arts: An Unknown Document from 1544 of Persian Miniature Painting.

The paper will deal with a short history of Persian miniature painters from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, which was found in the exhibition of Persian art in London last year.

Dr. ARNOLD WALTHER, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Hittite Myths.

The mythical texts to be found scattered among the many documents from Boghaz-Köi have not received the attention they deserve. We know about the fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic, but we find there interesting narratives about the gods, stories and the like. These texts are either in the "Hittite" or in the Akkadian language.

Professor A. POEBEL, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The First Mentioning of the Name of the Medes.

Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT, of the Johns Hopkins University: The North Canaanite Epic of 'Al'eyân and Môt.

In 1929 MM. Schaeffer and Chenet began their epoch-making excavations at Râs esh-Shamrah (probably ancient Ugarit) on the North

Syrian coast. The inscriptions discovered in 1929 and published by M. Virolleaud were partially deciphered by Bauer of Halle and Dhorme of Jerusalem. M. Virolleaud has now published part of the epic discovered in the 1930 campaign, with conclusive proof of the correctness of the decipherment. We wish to propose a new consonantal value, and to present a new rendering of the text, with numerous changes in detail. The language is practically identical with the Phoenician of the Late Bronze, but has a somewhat archaic character, especially in phonology and vocabulary. All comparative study of Hebrew literature will be revolutionized.

Professor FRANK R. BLAKE, of the Johns Hopkins University: Relational Words.

A familiar distinction between words is that between presentives like *man, tree, rail-road, good, blue, kill, see, die*, presenting an idea having an actual physical or mental correspondent in nature, and symbolic words like *this, on, now, and*, which either represent something or denote a relation. Between these two groups is another consisting of nouns, adjectives, and verbs, which partakes of the characteristics of both the other groups, at the same time presenting an idea and denoting a relationship. Such words, which may be called relational, are, e. g., *person, thing, size, name, number, middle, end, relation, possession, time, place; past, near, lasting, inner, lower, intervening; count, add, put, increase, describe, have, measure, happen, name, müssen*. So far as I know this class has never been recognized, but its importance is indicated by the fact that it comprises some of the commonest and most essential nouns, adjectives, and verbs of any language.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Yale University: The Land of Karduniash.

A careful study of cuneiform allusions to the land of Karduniash indicates that, although 'Karduniash' was at times used in referring to 'Babylonia,' there is no proof that 'Karduniash' and 'Babylonia' were synonymous terms. Hence the invariable translation of 'Babylonia' for 'Karduniash' is not warranted and should be discarded.

Professor RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Fragments from an Arabic Commonplace Book.

MS. Bodleian Heb. e. 74 contains six leaves from an Arabic book written in Hebrew characters and found in the Cairo Genizah. Who the author is I do not know, though he cites a work entitled "Fakd al-Bulagha" by one Ahmad ibn-Sa'd al-Isfahānī. In his preface he says that he has divided his book into 21 chapters, as follows: 1. The formulas used in singing the praises of God. 2. Imperialistics. 3. Victories. 4. Treaties. 5. Churches and their Beliefs. 6. Congratulations. 7. Condolences. 8. Thankfulness. 9. Reproach. 10. Excuses. 11. How to write Books (or, The arrangement of Books). 12. Invocations. 13. Offerings. 14. Praise. 15. Friendship. 16. Ardor (or Desire). 17. Consent and other (similar) subjects. 18. Intercession. 19. Remembrance. 20. Forbearance and Kindness. 21. Miscellaneous subjects.



The Arabic is difficult to translate, and the only thing Jewish about the fragment is that the text is written in Hebrew characters.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of New York, N. Y.: On the interpretation of some astrological passages in Pahlavi texts.

Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, of the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York: (a) Bibliographical notes on some rare Hebraica-Americana; (b) George Borrow's holograph (unpublished) translation from the Hebrew of a chapter from the Travels of Benjamin of Tudela.

(a) Descriptions of the following publications: (1) a Hebrew grammar by a Mexican Marrano, apparently the first to be written on American soil, printed at Lyons in 1676; (2) a manual of Hebrew written in Spanish by Oloardo Hassey and printed at Mexico City in 1873; (3) John Leusden's trilingual Psalter (Latin, Dutch and English), published at Utrecht in 1688 and of interest to Americans because of the dedicatory epistles to Increase Mather and Crescent Mather respectively; (4) a Latin dissertation on the pre-Columbian Scandinavian discovery of America, printed in 1757.

(b) Dr. Kohut has acquired recently an unpublished fragment of a translation of a single chapter from the Itinerary of the mediaeval Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, from the hand of George Borrow, to whom we owe a number of renditions of poetic pieces from Hebrew and other Oriental languages, notably one of the Jewish liturgical hymn *Adon Olam*. The chapter from Tudela is interesting because of its literary crudity and for the curious reason that it appears to be based upon an unrecorded version of the original Hebrew text. It contains a few notations in Hebrew, all in Borrow's own hand.

Reverend Dr. H. HENRY SPOER, of New York, N. Y.: *Iḥdaidun wal-Rûle*, "The Little Smith and the Female Ghoul": a folklore story from Bethlehem. (Printed in JOURNAL 52. 168-173.)

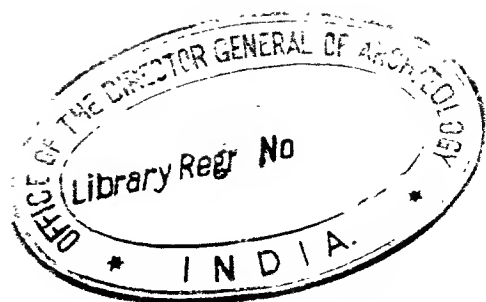
Professor FERRIS J. STEPHENS, of Yale University: A Newly Discovered Inscription of Libit-Ishtar. (Printed in JOURNAL 52. 182-185.)

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of Baltimore, Md.: Further Experiments concerning *Seḥitâ*, or Hebrew Method of Slaughter.

The author has previously shown, by phytopharmacological tests, that blood and muscle extracts from animals bled to death are much less toxic than similar preparations from animals killed by brain injury. A new investigation, now in progress, shows that nerve and muscle preparations from animals killed by brain injury retain life longer than those from animals killed by bleeding. Nerve and muscle preparations respond to electricity longer after decerebration than after death by bleeding. Smooth muscle preparations react similarly to pharmacological stimuli. Sensory nerve endings of frogs live longer after brain injury than after arteriotomy.







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Edw. Jackson Hopkins

## EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, 1857-1932

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE DEATH on July 16, 1932, of Edward Washburn Hopkins takes from us one of the few remaining elder statesmen of Indic studies. For half a century he was recognized throughout the world as one of the leaders in this field of scholarship.

Born at Northampton, Massachusetts, on September 8, 1857, he came of old New England stock, being directly descended from John Hopkins of Coventry, England, who was made a freeman of Cambridge, Mass., March 4, 1634, and later became one of the original proprietors of Hartford, Conn., to which he removed in 1636. A strong religious propensity ran in the family. Several ancestors were clergymen, and the celebrated Dr. Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), pupil and friend of Jonathan Edwards and founder of the movement known as Hopkinsianism, was a relative though not a direct ancestor. President Mark Hopkins of Williams also belonged to the same family. Hopkins's keen interest in religion may therefore be thought of, possibly, as in some sense inherited.

He studied at Columbia University, graduating in 1878, after presenting a baccalaureate thesis which contained comparisons between Greek and Sanskrit literature. Since Columbia then had no Sanskritist on its staff, the authorities made an investigation of his case, wherein it was proved that he had learned Sanskrit by himself from Whitney's grammar, and was already reading the literature. He was thus self-taught, to begin with, in his chosen field; and indeed he never studied under any American Sanskritist.

After graduation he went to Europe and spent three years in the study of Sanskrit, Iranian, and comparative philology, at Berlin and Leipzig, chiefly under Albrecht Weber and Ernst Windisch. At Leipzig he took the doctorate in 1881, with a dissertation on the relations of the four castes in Manu. On his return he was appointed Tutor in Latin at Columbia, where he remained four years, giving instruction also in Sanskrit and Avestan, or "Zend" as it was then called. During these years he started his greatest pupil, A. V. Williams Jackson, on his scholarly career. In 1885 he was called to Bryn Mawr as Professor of Greek, Sanskrit, and Comparative Philology, which position he held until 1895, when Yale

called him to the Salisbury Professorship of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in succession to Whitney. On June 3, 1893, he married Miss Mary S. Clark of New York City. They had one daughter and five sons, all of whom, with Mrs. Hopkins, survive him.

After spending one year in his new position, Hopkins took a year's leave to visit India, the homeland of his principal scholarly interests. That he was a keenly interested observer of current events there, no less than of historical antiquities, is illustrated by his description of the plague in Bombay in *India Old and New*. It is a graphic and historically valuable account of the tragic scenes which he himself witnessed in the winter of 1896-7. Less directly but even more fruitfully, the effect of his personal contact with India shows itself at many points in his later scholarly work.

The remainder of his life can best be described in terms of his scientific activity. Except for rare trips to Europe, among which may be mentioned that to the International Congress of Orientalists at Athens in 1911 (when the University of Athens gave him an honorary degree), he remained in New Haven until 1926 when he became Professor Emeritus. To him, as to most genuine scholars, the leisure of retirement meant increased opportunities for scholarly work, and to his last days he did not cease to be productive. Fortunately his health was always good, up to the very end, which came with practically no warning at his summer home in Madison, Connecticut, just after his return from a year abroad.

He received honorary degrees from Yale, Columbia, and the University of Athens, Greece. But it is no disparagement of these well deserved honors to say that they were only a faint reflection of the renown and esteem in which his scholarship was held all over the world. His work was so many-sided that it is hard to evaluate all of it justly in a short space; the following bibliography includes his most important publications but does not profess to be exhaustive. He started with studies in Hindu sociology. His "Relations of the Four Castes" and especially his "Ruling Caste" are still standard works, and his completion of Burnell's translation of *Manu* shows that his sociological observations were founded on the most intimate and painstaking philological research, as work of that sort should always be but sometimes is not. By 1895 his *Religions of India*, long to remain almost the only book on this subject in English, had established him as a leader in this larger field.

*The Great Epic of India* presented a group of severely scholarly studies which have had a profound effect on later work in the Sanskrit epics, and are a mine of valuable information still constantly used by all students of this department. Its companion volume, *India Old and New*, contains essays of more popular interest and appeals to a wider public. Such articles of this period as "The Fountain of Youth," "The Sniff-Kiss in Ancient India," "On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance" (a custom the persistence of which in India has been recently illustrated), "Mythological Aspects of Trees and Mountains," "Epic Chronology," and "Yoga Technique in the Great Epic," show the great range of his Indological interests, while his ever-widening grasp of comparative religion appears in other titles. Perhaps the high-water mark of his scholarly achievement may be said to have been reached between 1915 (*Epic Mythology*, in the *Indo-Aryan Encyclopedia*) and 1918 (*History of Religions*). The former will long remain the standard compendium on this important subject, and is an example of minute research at its best. The latter covers a vast field with what may be called truly "epic" sweep. Of greater popular appeal was the *Origin and Evolution of Religion* (1923), which attained for a time the rank of a "best seller." *The Ethics of India* (1924) is a book of much the same type, combining scientific soundness with great general interest. His last book, *Legends of India*, reveals him as a poet capable of reproducing the classic Hindu legends in English verse of great charm, a rôle which he modestly concealed from all but his intimate friends until late in life. This book is better known in England than in America, and deserves a wider circulation in its native country. Along with such substantial volumes as these, he continued to publish many important articles; a large proportion of them, as the following list shows, enriched the pages of our JOURNAL, where he became also, upon the establishment of our department of book reviews, one of the most faithful and valued of our reviewers.

He was Corresponding Secretary of our society from 1896 to 1908, and Editor of the JOURNAL from 1897 to 1907; and was our President in 1908-9 and again in 1922-3. He was one of the most valued members of the Board of Directors during the many years when he belonged to it. Always modest and courteous, he could nevertheless speak with great firmness and power, and his counsel



generally carried conviction. Indeed his personal qualities helped to reinforce his intellectual capacities. As a man he combined modesty with dignity, humor and charm with strength and vigor. The touching words which he used of his predecessor, Edward E. Salisbury (*India Old and New*, page 19), apply as well to him. He was assuredly one of those who were responsible for the creation, within our society, of "an impulse that does not die with the dead, but is still a vital force among the living."

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## THE OATH IN HINDU EPIC LITERATURE \*

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

YALE UNIVERSITY

SINCE *śapatha* means curse as well as oath and *śāpa* and *abhiśāpa* mean only curse, it is probable that the radical meaning of *śapatha* lies in the notion underlying the sense of curse. While normally "given," curse is also "cast upon" the victim (*tvām śapse 'ham . . . evaṃ śāpam mayi nyasya*, R. 2. 64. 53). It is cast only by those endowed with great spiritual power, especially ascetics ("deadly as ascetics' curses," *śāpā iva tapasvinām*, G. 3. 31. 17). An unknown guest, if a priest, must be honored because otherwise he might curse the host (*śapeta mām*, R. 3. 47. 2); Vālin dreads Mataṅga's curse (*śāpadhāraṇabhītaḥ*, R. 4. 11. 63) should he enter the "cursed wood," *śaptaṃ mahad vanam* (ib. 48. 13). This curse is the old inherited formula, "your head will split into a hundred pieces" (if you enter the wood). Here no outside agency is needed, and so in 14. 7. 2: "If you speak the truth all your wishes will be fulfilled, but if you speak falsely, your head will split into a hundred pieces," *mūrdhā śatadhā te sphuṭiṣyati*. The same formula occurs in the Śakuntalā story, the heroine being full of tapas power (1. 74. 23, 36, *śatadhā* etc.); but in 2. 68. 70 the head of the person questioned will be "split into a hundred pieces" not automatically, but by Indra's thunderbolt, if the person speaks falsely or refuses to answer. Just as the gods attest the truth so are they imagined as working with the curse in the interest of virtue. However, even a "causeless curse" may inflict an injury: "Without cause hast thou been cursed; hence thou art yellow and thin" (*akāraṇe 'bhiśapto 'si, tenā 'si harīṇaḥ kṛśaḥ*, 13. 124. 31). On the other hand, though the curses of ascetics are called unfailing (*amogha-śāpas*, R. 7. 35. 16), a curse may be held up or averted by the power of another ascetic, as when Vasiṣṭha releases Kalmāṣapāda from the curse "by sprinkling him with water purified by holy texts" (*mantrapūtena vāriṇa . . . mokṣayām āsa*, 1. 177. 26), or the curser may change his mind and make the uttered curse inactive,

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\* This paper was offered in short form by Professor Hopkins at the Leiden Oriental Congress (1931), but came to the JOURNAL only after his death.

as when Rāma begs Daśaratha's ghost "that the horrible curse may not touch Kāikeyī," and the ghost stops the curse with a casual "so be it" (*tathā*, R. 6. 121. 25 = G. 104. 33), or as when Nārada and Parvata curse each other, to lose heaven and become a monkey, respectively, and then change their minds and "mutually turn aside the curses" (*nivartayetām tāu śāpāu anyonyena*, 12. 30. 39).

But there are conditional curses and these may be cast upon oneself by an oath. Thus Somadatta swears (7. 156. 7) by his two sons and by his merit, derived from sacrifice and good deeds (*śape . . . iṣṭena sukṛtena*) that he will go to hell (*narake ghore pateyam*) if he fails in his promise to kill his foe that day; Arjuna, making a similar "promise," *pratijñā*, adds that he defies all spiritual beings, demons, gods, manes, and seers, *brahmade-varṣayaḥ*, to prevent the fulfillment of his oath (7. 73. 20-49). Such passages supply a link between the curse and the oath.

But there is also a link between the usual statement of a fact as a truth and the oath supporting such a statement. As an oath may refer to past or future as well as to present, so the words for "promise," in the future, are constantly used for past or present, as may be seen from the circumstances and from the varied readings of the same clause. For example, *pratijñā* is usually a promise concerning the future, as in Arjuna's words above and in *pratijñāya tadā teṣām* (R. 7. 62. 7); *sa tathe 'ti pratijñāya devānām* (ib. 76. 19), but in *anāmayaṃ pratijāne tavā 'ham* (5. 23. 6) the meaning is present, "I assure you I am well." This is a common word for oath, *pratijñāpārāgo bhava* means "fulfill your oath" (G. 3. 53. 8) and as such it interchanges with "true speech," as in 9. 16. 22 and 28, where *satyā vāñi* interchanges with *pratijñā*, and in 5. 192. 3 and 5, where *satyaṃ vadasva me* interchanges with *satyaṃ me pratijānīhi* (*satyaṃ pālāya* is a v. l. to *pratijñām pālāya* in R. 7. 106. 3; G. 112. 3 and 9). The same is true of *pratiśru* (*tam*). In R. 6. 121. 13 *satyaṃ pratiśrñomi te* is in G. (104. 15) *satyaṃ me vacanaṃ śrñu* and refers to the present ("I assure you that without you I do not care for heaven"). When, on the other hand, the future idea is prominent, the promise can be expressed simply by the "true word." Thus the two variants just mentioned are united into one half-verse in G. 6. 81. 14: *śrñudhvaṃ satyavacanaṃ, satyaṃ pratiśrñomi vaḥ* (c-d also in R. 101. 48), concerning the outcome of the war, and the formal promise of R. 5. 1. 148, *satyaṃ pratiśrñomi te*, becomes a mere *satyaṃ etad bravāmi te* in G. 5. 6. 13.

This last expression, either in this form or in the parallels ending with *bravīmi tvām* (G. 5. 56. 15) or *aham*, or inverted (*bravīmy eva ca te satyam*), is found also with *satyena* instead of *satyam*.<sup>1</sup> Thus R. 5. 38. 65 has *satyenā 'haṃ bravīmi te*, where G. 36. 70 has *satyam etad bravīmi te*, as *satyaṃ pratiśrṇomi te* in R. 5. 58. 28 takes the place of *satyaṃ etad bravīmi tvām* (above), but with the important introduction of the regular oath-formula (*satyena śāpayed vipram*, M. 8. 113). The two are combined in R. 2. 51. 4, *bravīmy eva ca te satyam, satyenā 'va ca te śape* (G. here, 48. 4, has *pratihi tat satyaṃ, vira, satyena te śape*). As one can also "swear the truth" (*satyam* for *satyena*) we have a series, *satyaṃ bravīmi, satyena bravīmi, satyaṃ śape, satyena śape*. Nor is it difficult to believe either that *satyena bravīmi* means "I say on my veracity" (rather than "with truth") or that *satyena* with *śape* originally differed from *satyena* with *bravīmi*. Probably the instrumental was at first used merely in the sense of an adverb (*satyāt* also is thus used in the epic), "with truth," as in R. 2. 21. 62; U. 3. 72. 22; etc. Any oath "by truth," however, in order to have any weight, must imply that for which the speaker's veracity stands, his virtue and its future reward. This rather impalpable but nevertheless terrible loss is in law restricted to the priest. The warrior is told to "swear by his chariot and weapon"; a member of the next lower caste, by his cattle, seed and gold; the people in general, by their accumulated merit ("good deeds"). In the epic, however, oaths "by truth" are taken by all, priest, warriors, and women, without distinction.

One form of this oath "by truth" lacks, however, the application to the future and refers definitely to a past event, referred to as "this truth" and on the basis of the fact being true is built the certainty of a future result. Such an oath or promise is known as *saccakiriyā* in Buddhist stories (Burlingame, in JRAS, 1917, p. 429 f.) and several examples are to be found in the epics. Typical Jātaka examples are: "I have never injured any living thing; (by that truth) you shall not suffer," and "If I am angry, (by that truth) may this burn me." So in the epic: "Since thou, being without evil, has been slain by one who is evil, by that truth go quickly to the heaven of heroes" (R. 2. 64. 40); "Never have

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes *tattvam* takes the place of *satyam*: *tattvam etam nibodha me* (G. 5, 64. 22; R. has *brūmaḥ satyam idaṃ tu te*); ib. 63. 2, R. has *satyam* and G. *tattvam* (*evā 'bhidhātām*).

I spoken an untruth nor turned from battle; as virtue is dear to me, by this truth this boy, though dead, shall live again," followed by a similar phrase without *tena satyena*, namely, "as truth and virtue are firmly established in me, so, though dead, this boy shall live again, *tathā mṛtaḥ śīsur ayam jīvatāt* (14. 69. 19 and 22).

Conditional oaths of this sort are often in defense of a woman's faithfulness: "As I am never untrue to my husband, by that truth shall I see you overcome" (3. 268. 21, repeated in effect at 4. 16. 6, with *abhicare* for *aticare*). Occasionally, however, other applications are made: "If I have given sacrifice, etc., then may I be reborn for your destruction" (Vedavati then leaps into fire, to be reborn, in fulfillment of her oath, as Sītā, R. 7. 17. 33). So the oath, *śāpa*, of Anarāya: "If I have made gifts and sacrifices and performed well my religious austerities, if I have properly guarded my people, then let my word be verified (and Rāma be born to slay thee," *yadi dattam . . . tadā satyaṃ vaco 'stu me*, R. 7. 19. 29 f.). Again, in the other epic; "If I have been religious, dutiful, etc., by this truth this arrow shall slay Karna" (8. 91. 46 f.), and in Har.: "If I am the son of Rukmiṇī and Keśava, by that truth, O arrow, slay thou this Śambara" (H. 9441). But these implied or stated facts do not always produce the expected result. Thus Rambhā's protestation: "I can love only your son, by that truth must thou release me," *tena satyena mām rājan moktum arhasi*, is not effective with Rāvaṇa (R. 7. 26. 36). Only the Southern text has the tragedy recounted in K. 4. 27. 51, where a woman attacked by demons says: "if my husband has been satisfied with me, by that truth may I be petrified," *tena satyena yonir me bhavaty adya śilā dṛdhā*, and by the truth of her statement turned to stone as she wished (*antarā nā bhijānvor yat tat sarvaṃ ca śilā 'bhavat*). The *tena satyena* form in such cases sometimes is replaced by the other, as in R. 4. 14. 14, *anṛtaṃ no 'ktapūrvaṃ me,*<sup>2</sup> *sakhe satyena te śape*; compare R. 4. 7. 22: *anṛtaṃ no 'ktapūrvaṃ me, na ca vaksye kadācana, etat te pratijānāmi satyenāi 'va śapāmy aham*.

The formula above, "if I have made gifts and sacrificed" (compare Iliad 1. 40) is employed so regularly that it is used even by Indra's wife when hunting for her vanished lord: "*yadi dattam yadi hutam*, if too I have been a virtuous wife, if there is truth

<sup>2</sup> "The *me* is for *mayā*" (Comm.), which is the form in G. 13. 34 (the conclusion is, "fruitful shall my promise be," ib. 38); but *me* is perfectly correct.

in me, *satyaṃ yady asti vā mayi*, then shall be fulfilled my wish" (to know where Indra is; *sidhyatām me manorathah*). So she invoked Upaśruti, the nocturnal hearer of secrets, and because of her wifely virtue and through her truth, *pativrataṭvāt satyena*, the divinity appeared and said: "Because of thy good conduct and thy truth I will tell thee where Indra hides." Though Śacī's virtue is given as one reason, yet, as in the former examples, the compelling force of Śacī's invocation lay in the truth of her words. As she herself says, *satyaṃ satyena dṛśyatām*, "truth shall be shown through truth" (as declared, 5. 13. 24-14. 1 f.). So Sāvitrī and her husband make their appeals on the basis of "never having told a lie" and good works, *yadi dattaṃ hutam yadi*, with the conclusion (*tena*) *satyena* . . . *ātmānam ālabhe*, "I swear by my life" (3. 297. 99 and 101). So too Damayantī compels the gods to reveal themselves by the truth of her love and constancy, *tena satyena*, and later on relies on the same formula to convince Nala; but in attesting this she adds "I would touch thy feet" (see below) and she also calls on the gods to be witnesses to her veracity, whereupon the Wind-god spoke from space and said, "She is sinless, *satyaṃ bravāmi te*" (3. 57. 18; 76. 31, *spṛśeyaṃ tena satyena pādāv etāu*). In 3. 63. 37, Damayantī says "as I am faithful, so may this wretch fall dead," where (*yathā*) *tathā*, as often, takes the place of an implied "by this truth."

An appeal to the gods converts the oath, which in itself is a form of ordeal (*śapatha* in law and literature may mean ordeal) into a case such as that of Sītā's, which has apparently been worked over with a view to this aspect. Sītā says: "Trust me; by my conduct (as a good wife, *cāritreṇa*) I swear to you that I am innocent"; then, after an explanation of the facts, "making obeisance to deities and priests," she says: "As my heart has never turned from Rāma, so let Fire, the witness of the world, save me." She then enters the fire, but comes out unhurt, and Fire in person declares that she is innocent. The G. text amplifies this and here Sītā says: "Even in thought I have never wronged you; by that truth may the gods preserve me" (*tena satyena me devā diśantv abhayam īśvarāḥ*). She then calls directly on the god, "Protect me, O god" (R. 6. 118. 6-25; G. 101. 7, 11, 30 f.). Her second trial (in which the Sītāśapatha occurs, in a sort of court-room, before those assembled to try her, *pariṣanmadhye*) is really conducted by Vālmīki, who speaks as her advocate and himself takes

the oath. Recounting the parentage of her sons and dismissing the facts with *satyam etad bravimi te*, he repeats the formula: "I do not remember ever to have told a lie. May I get no fruit of my austerity if Sītā be not faultless and pure (*nīrdoṣā, śuddhā*); but may I get the fruit if she be free of evil." Sītā herself then invokes Earth to receive her if she has been true to Rāma "in thought, deed, and word," concluding with the formal *satyam uktaṃ me*; then Earth, in accord with truth, *satyasampadā*, opens and receives her (R. 7. 95. 6; 96. 17; some repetition in G. 103).

A divine voice also, as in the case of Damayantī, verifies the *tena satyena* oath of Sudarśana, who challenges the gods to "bless or destroy" him, according as he has spoken truly or falsely (13. 2. 71). Incidentally it may be observed that this formula (like the phrase *satyam etad bravimi te*) becomes so trite that it is often employed without any real idea of taking an oath, merely as a colloquial addition or even as a verse-filler, as when Hanumat says, "Rāma is grieving for you; *devi satyena te śape*" (R. 5. 67. 25); or as when Nahuṣa says to Śacī, "Don't be abashed, rely on me, *satyena vāi śape devi*, I will do as you say" (5. 15. 8); and as when Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna, "Karna's way of fighting makes me angry, *sakhe satyena te śape*" (8. 73. 76). But this last is the epic equivalent of the old *śepāno 'smi* in the Namuci-story. Indra here "makes an agreement," which is clinched with the formal yet colloquial *sakhe, satyena te śape*, where of course it is required. The sin of breaking his oath, however, is not even mentioned in the story, only the sin of killing his "Brahman" friend (from which sin bathing in the Aruṇā river frees Indra). The evil Duryodhana says that the world approves the breaking of this *adrohasamaya* (9. 43. 36; 2. 55. 13). Such at least was the advice given his father by Kaṇika, "slay the foe by (false) oath, poison, deceit" (1. 140. 53), and Indra's broken oath serves later writers as an excuse for treating any political oath as negligible. But the morality of speaking the truth in any circumstances where a "virtuous lie" may be told, is questioned by the epic writers. One may be asked to speak truly, *satyena prṣṭaḥ prabrūhi*, and yet go to hell for telling the truth; since sometimes it is "better to lie" and "a lie with virtuous intent is virtuous" (8. 69. 50 f.).

The rhapsodes deal with a string of oath-formulas, some of which are needed for the story, some for the verse, and some for emphasis, while others are merely for convenience and may be omitted. Thus



an unessential *satyam* in G. 6. 23. 32, *etat satyam bravīmi te*, is dropped in R. 48. 28 (*snehād etad*) and the whole phrase *satyam etad bravīmi te* of R. 6. 4. 2 is absent in G. So the oath *bhadre, nirveṣṭukāmaṃ māṃ viddhi, satyena vāi śape* of 13. 19. 89 is dropped in K. 50. 94, which gives another turn to the assertion (*-kāmo 'ham, tatrā 'vakiraṇaṃ mama*). Then again, the half-pāda phrases are joined as wholes, so that sometimes the vital *satya*-element shifts its place. In R. 3. 27. 3, *pratijānāmi te satyam* is completed with *āyudham cā 'ham ālabhe*, while the variant in G. 33. 3 is *pratijānāmi te, vira, satyenā 'yudham ālabhe* (the *p. t. s.* form, complete in R. 6. 36. 13 = G. 12. 13, lacks an addition). But, wherever placed, the interchange shows that the *āyudham ālabhe* formula is mentally complemented with a *satyena*, which is often set in the preceding phrase, as in 7. 76. 7, "I swear by truth and thereto touch my weapon," *satyena ca śape, Kṛṣṇa, tathāi 'vā 'yudham ālabhe*. These phrases and whole half-verses appear in both epics and in different books of the same epic, showing that they are conventionalized iterata.<sup>3</sup> They show also that to the epic composers any form of a *satyavacanam* is regarded as an oath. In 3. 252. 42-43, *satyaṃ te pratijānāmi* is followed by *satyenā 'yudham ālabhe* in the next verse for two forms of virtually the same oath: "I promise true I will kill Arjuna after the thirteen years have passed; I touch (swear on) my weapon to the truth of this (that) I will subdue the Pārthas." So far as the form goes, the *satyena* formula may be expressed otherwise, as in 5. 162. 27-29: "I shall fulfill my promise, *pratijñā* (even if the gods oppose) and I take my life (to stake) that what I have said shall become true," *yac cāi 'tad uktaṃ vacanaṃ mayā . . . yathāi 'tad bhavitā satyaṃ tathāi 'vā 'tmānam ālabhe*.

Two aspects of "truth-speaking" may be illustrated in connection with these formulas. To support the statement in R. 2. 88. 27 that his promise will be kept, *tat pratiśrutam āryasya nāi 'va mithyā bhaviṣyati*, the speaker adds: "May the divinities make true my wish," *api me devatāḥ kuryur imaṃ satyaṃ manoratham* (as expressed in the promise). As Indra aids the curse by splitting with lightning the head of the accursed, so divine assistance will

<sup>3</sup> Compare 16. 3. 26; R. 2. 97. 6; G. 4. 5. 6; and the whole of R. 4. 7. 22 in G. 2. 121. 9, *etac ca pratijānāmi satyena ca śapāmy aham* (in R. 4. 8. 27 this *s. c. ś. a.* interchanges with *sakhe satyena te śape* in G. 4. 8. 16 and G. 4. 5. 6 has no correspondence in the the other text).

aid the oath's fulfillment, in marked contrast to the defiance of the gods that may oppose their vows made by Arjuna and Bhīma (above). In most cases there is no reference to the gods, unless they are cited as witnesses, but the general belief is that of Bhīma (2. 77. 27): "I swear it and this mighty word of mine the gods will make true, "*brhad vacaḥ, satyaṃ devāḥ kariṣyanti*."

The other aspect is that shown in Scott's "this rock shall fly from its firm base as soon as I," certifying to the unchangeable character of the speaker and his word by analogy, a rather absurd but magnificent gesture, which may appear also in negative form ("heaven and earth may pass away, but my word shall not pass away"). A few specimens will suffice for this rhetorical side of the oath: "Ocean may dry up, Mount Vindhya be moved, but I shall not (be moved to) change this order" (G. 2. 121. 9); "Himavat may pass away, the sun lose its light, the moon its coolness, if my true word pass away" (2. 77. 35, *caled dhi Himavān sthānāt . . . matsatyaṃ vicaled yadi*); "Ocean may pass its bounds, the mountains be rent, but (even if the gods oppose me) my word shall not be spoken in vain" (5. 162. 26 f., *mayoktaṃ na mṛṣā bhavet*); "The sky may fall, the mountain split . . . but my word shall not be in vain" (3. 12. 130; the conclusion, *na me moghaṃ vaco bhavet*, is found also in 5. 82. 48); "The sky with all its stars may fall, fire become cool" (etc., 3. 278. 38; with additions in K.; which text again has "the mount of snow may lose its snow" instead of "Himavat may wander about," in 3. 249. 31 f.). The formula in 14. 5. 27, among other monstrous possibilities, includes "the earth may revolve," *parivarteta medinī* (but "truth shall not change in me," *na tu satyaṃ calen mayi*). The same appeal to nature's steadfastness as an indication of the speaker's, but with a different turn, is made in the following cases: "So long as sun shall shine and mountains stand, may I fail of heaven if I fail in my agreement" (14. 7. 22, *tyajeyaṃ saṃgataṃ yadi*); "As the sun displays its glory in the east and, setting in the west, goes its regular round, *dhruvaṃ paryeti*, so without (future) evasion I declare that this is the truth" (that is, I shall not evade my promise to kill the foe, *tathā satyaṃ bravīmy etan, nā 'sti tasya vyatikramah*, 5. 75. 12 f.).

The oath is attested either by divine intervention or, what amounts to the same thing, by the event. The usual divine witnesses are Fire and Water, but, as shown in the examples above,

Wind and Earth, or merely a Voice, also act in this capacity. Fire, the "witness of the world" (above) is the regular witness, as it (he) is the oldest known in literature. In the epics, he witnesses an oath of friendship (*ahimsakam sakhyam upetya sāgnikam*, R. 7. 33. 18), where the proper procedure is for the two men to take hands before a blazing fire (which may be fed with holy grass or flowers) and swear "the friendship witnessed by fire" (*agnisākṣikam sakhyam* or *mitram*) or "fire-witnessed brotherhood," *bhrātṛtvam*.<sup>4</sup> Compare R. 4. 8. 27: *tvaṃ hi pāṇipradānena vayasyo me 'gnisākṣikam kṛtaḥ prāṇāṇī bahumataḥ* (G. *priyatarāḥ*), *satyena ca śapāmy aham*. Fire is of course the witness at a wedding and gifts made are also "witnessed by Fire" (both illustrated in 1. 198. 11 and 17, *dadāu dhanam agnisākṣikam*). So the oath of confederation is taken over a fire hastily made and a religious aspect is sought further by a pretence of dress and use of holy grass: *satyaṃ te pratijānīmo nāi 'tan mithyā bhaviṣyati . . . kṛtvā śapatham; āhave tasmin agnāu tadā cakruḥ pratijñām* (7. 17. 16-27).

The case of Water as witness of an oath is not so clear as is that of Fire, since sipping water is a general rite of purification. Yet it is possible that this rite itself is a tacit appeal to Water. In the case of the confederates just described, the K. text adds "touching pure water," *jalaṃ saṃsprśya nirmalam*, and a priestly blessing, as part of the oath-ceremony. As Fire witnesses a wedding, so "he is the husband to whom the woman is given with water," *yasya cā 'dbhir pradiyate*. Vālmiki, "touching water," *upasprśyo 'dakam*, has a vision of the epic (R. 1. 3. 2). Bharata in the same way protests his innocence, *apah sprśya* (R. 2. 111. 24). A curse is thus sanctified: "Angrily he took water in his hand and proceeded to curse the priest" (*toyam jagrāha pāṇinā Vasiṣṭham śaptum ārebhe*); but in this case the curse was averted and the water was spilled, yet its potency was so strong that when it touched them it spotted the man's feet (R. 7. 65. 29 f.). Water thus taken in hand to help a curse is called *divyam* (R. 7. 26. 53; G. *sarvam* for *divyam*); it is sipped or sprinkled (so the Comm.), "according to the customary rule," *yathāvidhi*, in this and similar cases.

<sup>4</sup>R. 4. 5. 10 f.; G. 4. 7. 4; 34. 23 f.; G. 3. 75. 35, where the v. l. is *saṃskṛto 'gninā*, R. 3. 71. 20; cf. R. 7. 23. 14 and 34. 42 = G. 23. 45, where to *bhrātṛtvam* is added *mitratām gatāu*. The "friend taken by the hand" (of G. *sakhā*) appears in R. 4. 55. 5 as *satyāt pāṇigrhātāḥ*, implying the fire-ceremony.

Rāma touches water as he swears to dry up Ocean (3. 283. 32; this rite is not in R. 6. 21 = G. 93). Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, *saṁsprśyā 'mbhaḥ*, touch water when they meditate on Śiva and approach two enchanted serpents (7. 79. 1; 80. 17; 81. 12 f.), to protect themselves by purification. So Nala, because especially unclean, *kṛtvā mūtram*, should have "cleansed his feet" as well as "touched water," to keep off an evil spirit (3. 59. 3). All this sort of ritual becomes so conventionalized that the actors (or poets) probably do not know whether touching invokes Water or ritually cleanses. The Hindus "touch water" as we touch wood (who knows why?) for good luck, vaguely thinking of the process as a prophylactic purification. Thus Droṇa fastens on the king's armor "muttering holy texts and touching water" (7. 94. 39). Māitreya, "touching water," *vāry upasprśya*, utters an effective curse against Duryodhana, who has insulted him by scratching earth with his foot while slapping his thigh and grinning at the saint (3. 10. 29 f.). The same formula, *vāry upasprśya*, strengthens even a "fire-weapon" (7. 201. 15; cf. ib. 195. 49). Similar curses and promises to slay a foe, after touching water *yathāvidhi*, are found in 1. 41. 11 and 50. 46. The general idea is that this act purifies, *saṁsprśyā 'paḥ śucir bhūtvā* (on beginning *prāya*, 3. 251. 19), as when one is about to commit suicide or decides to leave off the attempt (R. 2. 111. 24). The rite is doubled in 14. 80. 33 f. Here the would-be suicide "takes his life in his hands" (swears by his life; *satyenā 'tmānam ālabhe*), to prove that he will kill himself; then he touches water and cries upon "all beings" to listen to him while he announces that, as a patricide, he is going to hell by way of starving to death; then he touches water a second time and lies down to die. Although there is perhaps as much magic as religion in "touching water," yet the sense of a divine power still seems to linger in the rite when, in G. 2. 118. 8, the question is asked: "In what river can I drink water, taking it in my hand, if I fail of my promise and falsify my father's word?" Whether the fact that water refuses its protection to a sinner, shows a belief in its divinity or is merely a magical survival, may be questioned (3. 136. 9 f., an evil spirit is here by implication stopped by water). Perhaps this is the reason why a priest always carries a water-pot. Pure magic is shown in the belief that water dropping from a nail, hair, fringe, or jar may injure a person.<sup>5</sup> Certain watering-places are of course holy and

<sup>5</sup> *nakhakeśadaśākumbhavāriṇā kiṁ samukṣitaḥ . . . gataśrīr iva lakṣyase;*

have especial powers of healing, rejuvenation, etc., and holy verses said over water may endow it with magical potency. Any water will do for a curse or a blessing, but that of very holy rivers (any river is holy) is effective in proportion to the holiness of the stream or tank (cf. *saṃspr̥śya salīlaṃ śuci*, of the Ganges, 3. 1. 42). But apart from this general appeal to water or employment of water, it is only as in 1. 74. 30 that it is invoked as a witness along with earth, space, wind, and all the gods, spirits, and beings which are supposed to keep an eye on human conduct. It appears to be a necessary element at a wedding (7. 55. 15, *manovāgbuddhisambhāṣā dattā co 'dakapūrvakam, pāṇigrahanamantrās ca prathitaṃ varalakṣaṇam*; in K. 55. 21, *bhāṣā, satyaṃ toyam athā 'gnayaḥ . . . dāralakṣaṇam*). Perhaps all that can be said certainly of water in regard to the oath is that to touch or sip water solemnizes the act, which is performed with a more or less conscious acknowledgment of water's divinity and the tacit acceptance of it as a possible arbiter, as in ordeals. Rivers, as distinct from mere water, are very living divinities and drown or save people as they will; not to speak of them marrying men or mountains, etc. But this phase exceeds the present topic. On the oath "by Varuṇa," see below.

Earth as a witness-goddess is invoked by Sītā (above), but otherwise only as one of the elementary powers (earth, air, space, water, light) that "see the evil and good" of the body wherein they reside (13. 2. 72 f.), or as one of the host of gods called upon in general to hear an oath or a cry of despair (see below). Duryodhana's scratching the earth with his foot, *caraneno 'likhan mahīm* (above) seems to be a slighting gesture without religious significance. Even in law, where the witnesses, "sworn by their good deeds," give testimony while they "carry earth on their heads" (*śīrobhis te gṛhītvō 'rvīm sukr̥tāḥ śāpitāḥ* (M. 8. 256; *kṣitidhārinah* in Yāj. 2. 152), it is only when a boundary is to be settled that this implicit appeal is made to Earth (if it be not mere symbolism). In 7. 143. 44, the dying warrior protests against the manner of his death and "touches earth with his head," but apparently only because he is entering *prāya* (the suicidal rite), or is becoming weak, not because he is calling on Earth as a witness, though, according to the old saying, "Earth has ears." (Oertel in JAOS,

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"What's the matter with you? You look unhappy. Have you been sprinkled with water from nail, hair, fringe of a garment, or jar? Or have you been beaten in a battle?" (16. 8. 5 f.).

28. 88; the Hit. says of a cat, *bhūmim sprṣtvā karṇāu sprṣati*, as attestation, Peterson's ed., p. 17; also a lion, Hit. iv, before vs. 60, p. 145). On Earth as one of a group of elemental witnesses, see the next paragraph.<sup>5\*</sup>

When Indrajit exclaims: "Hear thou the promise (oath) of Indra's foe; I will slay Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa; the gods shall see my prowess" (*drakṣyantu me vikramam*, R. 6. 73. 6) he invokes the gods as witnesses that he will fulfill his oath. But this is merely implicit. The same desire is explicit in R. 3. 45. 31: "May all the beings wandering in the wood (the *vanadevatāḥ* mentioned just previously) hear me as witnesses that I, though speaking properly, have been insulted by you" (*sākṣiṇo hi*; in G, *sākṣi-bhūtāḥ*). So in R. 2. 11. 14 f., Kākeyī calls all the gods as witnesses of Daśaratha's promise (*sarve śṛṇvantu dāivatāḥ*; in G, *tan me śṛṇuta devatāḥ*) and mentions, as such witnesses, "all the three and thirty gods with Indra at their head, moon and sun and cloud and planets, night and day, the cardinal points, world and earth (*jagat* and *prthivī*), with Gandharvas and Rākṣasas, night-wandering creatures, the household divinities (*grhadevatāḥ*) and whatever *bhūtas* (spirits) there be besides." Śakuntalā enumerates as those beings who know men's conduct and are witnesses of truth and falsehood, almost the list of Manu (cf. Hit. ii, 100), sun, moon, air, fire, sky, earth, water, the heart (as "inner witness"), Yama, day (not in Manu), night, the two twilights, and Dharma (1. 74. 30 f. In Manu, 8. 85 f., "sky and earth" head the list). The oldest oath of all, "O Varuṇa" (implying that the God is a witness, VS. 6. 22; TS. 1. 3. 11. 1), invokes a deity who (in the Veda) may be either Heaven or Water-god, but no epic oath recalls him apart from the very doubtful passage where Hanumat swears that Sītā shall soon see Rāma. This reads in G. 5. 34. 7: *satyena vūi śape devi tathāi 'va sukr̥tena ca, Dardureṇa ca Vāidehi śape mūlaphalena ca, Varuṇena sa-Vindhyena Meruṇā Mandareṇa ca (yathā sunayanam vīram . . . kṣipram drakṣyasi)*; but the Bombay reading is: *Mandareṇa ca te devi śape mūlaphalena ca Malayena ca Vindhyena Meruṇā Dardureṇa ca, yathā*, etc., thus omitting here (R. 5. 36. 37) truth (but this occurs ib. 40. 13), merit, and Varuṇa, who really has nothing to do in this list of mountains and is to be

<sup>5\*</sup> Professor Hopkins may have thought the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* of the Buddha so obviously related to the material here presented as to need no comment.—[EDITORS]

emended to Malaya. Mountains, like rivers, are divine and appropriate enough for a monkey to swear by, but they are invoked here not as deities but as the speaker's occasional resorts, where he can obtain the sustenance, by which, *mūlaphalena*, he also swears. Thus Hanumat's oath accords with the general principle of the oath as voiced in the epic. One does not swear by a god but by a precious possession. The gods and spirits may witness the oath, but they are not sworn by, as in Greece and Rome; for one swears by what one would preserve intact, weapons, wealth, life, and future bliss, the loss of which is risked by perjury.

Under this head comes the common oath "by truth and merit." Merit is expressed by *sukṛta* or *iṣṭāpūrta*, that is, the reward to be expected hereafter as the fruit of good deeds or of religious acts, such as making sacrifice and establishing tanks, etc. An oath *tapasā*, "by austerity" is similar, in that it invites the loss, in case of perjury, of hard-earned asceticism here and hereafter. So an oath "by truth" implies that the speaker risks the fruit of lying, which is the loss of his stored-up merit. Hence the frequency of the oft-repeated preliminary to such an oath, "Never have I spoken an untruth." Such oaths are often united with others, as in R. 2. 21. 16, *satyena dhanuṣā cāi 'va dattene 'ṣṭena te śape*, "by truth, by my bow, by (the fruit of) my gifts and sacrifices I swear to thee." In R. 2. 34. 48, although the formula is almost the same, "in thy presence, by truth and by my good deeds I swear to thee," *pratyakṣam tava satyena sukṛtena ca te śape*, the Comm. takes *te* as equivalent to *tvayā*, "and by thee" (I swear). Such an oath would be most unusual, though not without precedent. For example, in 12. 128. 185, *satyaṁ śape tvayā 'haṁ vāi*, "I swear by thee it is true" (that to injure a friend is blamable); but, as against the Comm., besides the questionable grammar, the idiom *te śape* meaning "swear to thee" is common. The oath here is that Rāma will fulfill his father's promise.

Other examples are: *satyena pratijānāmi . . . iṣṭāpūrtena ca śape vīryeṇa ca sutāir api*, "truly I promise and swear by my merit, by my manliness, and even by my sons" (that I shall slay or be slain). This oath of 7. 150. 26 resembles that of 5. 163. 33, *kartā 'haṁ tad vacaḥ satyaṁ satyenāi 'va śapāmi te*, and 7. 195. 14, *śape satyena . . . iṣṭāpūrtena cāi 'va* ("I will verify my word, by truth I swear it" and "I swear by my truth and my merit," to drink the foe's blood), except that it remains doubtful whether *satyena*

with *pratiḥjānāmi* is to be taken adverbially or as part of the oath. So in 9. 65. 35, *śṛṇu ce 'dam vaco mahyaṃ satyena vadato prabho, iṣṭāpūrtena dānena dharmena sukr̥tena ca*, "(I will kill them today) I swear by my sacrifices, merit, gifts, virtue, and good deeds; hear me this word as I declare it truly" (rather than "by truth").<sup>6</sup> In other cases, as in Aśvatthāman's oath, it is more obvious that *satyena* is part of the oath: *śape 'tmanā 'haṃ Sāineya satyena tapasā tathā, ahatvā sarvapāñcālān yaśi śāntim ahaṃ labhe*, 7. 200. 64, "I swear by my life (soul), by truth, by my ascetic merit," an oath completed by the unusual *yaśi*, "(I swear) if I rest (i. e. I shall not rest) without killing them all," this rather late Sanskrit construction corresponding to the English idiom. Usually it is a Brahman who swears by his austerity or ascetic merit, but Droṇa's son, like his father, is entitled to the oath.

Instead of *iṣṭāpūrta* (which Nilakaṇṭha resolves into *iṣṭa* and *āpūrta*) *iṣṭa* alone, or the still more generalized *svargabhāga*, "share of heaven," may be sworn by, as in 3. 157. 55, "I swear (to kill him) by my life, by my brothers, by my virtue and good deeds, and by my (merit obtained by) sacrifices" (*ātmanā bhrātr̥bhiś cāi 'va dharmena sukr̥tena ca, iṣṭena ca śape rājan*) and in R. 7. 107. 6, "by truth I swear and by my share of heaven" (that I do not desire the kingdom without thee). This is Bharata's oath (followed by *yathā* instead of the usual simple future); another reading is *svargalokena* (*satyenā 'haṃ śape rājan svargabhāgena cāi 'va hi, na kāmāye yathā rājyaṃ tvāṃ vinā*). The "triple truth" formula, *trisatyena śape*, does not occur in the epic. One might expect, since *sukr̥tena* is one of the commonest oaths (next to *satyena*) that an oath would also be made by merit, *punya*, especially as R. has the expression *svāni puṇyāni bhuñjānāḥ* (R. 2. 27. 4) and *puṇyabhāj* is one who is "happy" in having the fruit of merit (R. 7. 17. 6, *yena saṃbhujyase bhīru sa naraḥ puṇyabhāj bhuvi*). But, as this may be on earth, so *punya* is not so much the objective good deed, *sukr̥ta*, as the goodness of which the *sukr̥ta* is the outgrowth: "by acting thus one might obtain great merit" (*sumahat prāpnuyāt puṇyam*, 12. 109. 7 f.); *puṇyavantaḥ*, *madhyapuṇyāḥ*, and *duṣkr̥takarmāṇaḥ* are the righteous,

<sup>6</sup> Here *vadato* agrees loosely with *mahyam*, which forms part of a more or less fixed phrase; cf. R. 5. 36. 34, *śrutvāi 'va ca vaco mahyam* (altered in G. 34. 4 for grammatical propriety to *mama śrutvāi 'va tu vacaḥ*); Comm. *matāḥ*.



those of middling virtue, and sinners (12. 298. 27), respectively (from the sense "blessed" comes that of "happy").

The oath usually leaves doubtful, except by implication, whose good deeds are sworn by, but the omission is sometimes carefully made good; *sukṛtenā 'pi te śape, kariṣyāmi tava pritiṃ* (R. 2. 11. 10) appears in the same form (ih. 10. 36) but with *my* (good deeds), added in the reading of G. (2. 11. 23), *sukṛtenā 'tmanaḥ śape* (ib. 34. 48 has *satyena sukṛtena ca*). I supply the necessary pronoun in the following elaborate oath, which embodies some of the usual formulas (for *japena*, prayers, *jayena* is also found), with the frequently employed curse for failure: "By my *iṣṭāpūrta*, by my gifts and truth and prayers [or (hope of) victory], I swear, O king, that (*yathā*) I shall to-day slay the Somakas. May I not obtain the pleasure which good people are wont to win from sacrifice, if I do not slay our enemies at dawn; I will not loosen my armor unless (until) I slay them; thus I declare this as truth; hear me, O lord." This shows very plainly that every oath is by implication a curse on the one who uttering it fails to make his promise good (*iti satyaṃ braviṃy etat* is virtually a promise, "I say it will be so as I have said"). The *mā sma yajñakṛtāṃ pritiṃ āpnuyām sajjanocitām* (9. 30. 21) merely expresses what is really meant by *iṣṭāpūrtena śape*. With the loss of *iṣṭāpūrta*, in 7. 186. 46, and of *kṣātra* (warrior-standing) and of *brāhmaṇya*, are threatened those warriors, in a sort of curse uttered as a threat, who allow Droṇa to escape or are worsted by him in battle, *iṣṭāpūrtāt tathā kṣātrād brāhmaṇyāc ca sa naśyatu*. How a warrior can lose his Brahman-standing is explained by the commentator, who says it means the loss of the religious virtue gained by keeping up sacrificial fires, etc. But probably it means what it says; a warrior-caste man is to lose caste and so is any fighting priest. Droṇa himself was half priest and Aśvatthāman, his son, swears by his *tapas* (above). Probably many soldiers belonged to the priestly caste, as the law-books say particularly that a priest should not be a soldier, which shows that the practice was not unknown.

A disconsolate priest, who still owes his tuition-fee, says that a failure to pay one's debts involves the loss of all one's *iṣṭāpūrta*, because to default payment is virtually a failure to speak the truth and without truth there is no heavenly reward, which theory explains the connection between the oath by truth and the reward involved (5. 107. 8 f.). According to 2. 68. 80, untruth destroys

the *iṣṭāpūrta* of one's whole family for seven generations. The keeping of a promise or oath, even if it be a secret promise or vow made to oneself, *upāśu vratam*, is the payment of a "debt to truth" (*pratiññām pālaiṣyāmi . . . satyasyā 'nṛṇyatām gataḥ*, 8.69.10 and 13; for the phrase, cf. *pituś cā 'nṛṇyatā dharme*, R. 2.94.17).

The doubling of an oath after an interval of explanation is not uncommon. A good example occurs in the Sudarśana episode, where, within the space of three verses, the same speaker says: "That this word of mine is uttered without any deceit, to this truth I swear on my life (take my life in my hands)," and then says again: "That this declaration uttered by me to-day is quite true, in accordance with that truth may the gods preserve or burn me" (13.2.72), *niḥsaṃdigdham yathā vākyam etan me samudāhṛtam, tenā 'ham, vipra, satyena svayam ātmānam ālabhe*; ib. 75, *yathāi 'śā nā 'nṛtā vāṇi mayā 'dya samudiritā, tena satyena māṃ devāḥ pālayantu dahantu vā*. The *ātman* here and elsewhere sworn by is life rather than soul and the extension of *ālabhe* from the material to immaterial is bridged by the parallel oath "I touch my head," as a warrior says "I touch my weapon," meaning swear by the weapon. Thus in 5.175.16-17: "I touch (swear by) my head that I am a pure maid and think only of thee," followed immediately by "it is the truth and to this truth I swear on my life" (*mūrdhānam ālabhe* and *satyenā 'tmānam ālabhe*). For *satyena* is found also *satyam*, as in 15.3.52, *satyam ātmānam ālabhe*, "I swear on my life it is true" (compare *satyaṃ śape*, above). The warrior-oath on the weapon, such as *dhanuṣā*, "by my bow (I swear)" or the more usual *āyudham ālabhe*, is generally complemented by a preceding *satyena*, the two together being equivalent to swearing to the truth and attesting it by touching the weapon, as in 3.252.43; 7.148.21, etc. But as the fact sworn to is generally a future victory at the hands of the boastful champion, the logical situation is not always in accord with the rhetoric, though one can see what the warrior means despite what he says. Thus Arjuna in 7.76.7-25: "I shall slay him; I swear it and attest the truth by touching my weapon . . . he will be killed by me, I promise you; know thou that my promise is as true (sure) as Lakṣmī in the moon and water in the sea . . . I shall not be conquered but I shall conquer (*na jīyeyaṃ jayāmi ca*) and by that truth know thou that he is (will be) slain in battle; truth is

inherent in a Brahman and humility in good men" (*dhruvaṃ vāi brāhmaṇe satyaṃ dhruvā sādhuṣu sannatiḥ*). The only force of *tena satyena* here is to reinforce the *pratijñā satyā*; my promises being always sure of fulfillment, in accordance with my promise to slay him he may already be regarded as slain (*satyenā 'yudham ālabhe* repeated in another form).

This formula for touching a weapon or head or feet (of another) and for laying hands on one's life (*ātmānam ālabhe*, 5. 87. 7, etc.) is identical in its verbal use with that euphemistically employed for slaughtering a sacrificial animal; but the same *ā-labh* is also the regular word meaning to touch (put the hand gently on) objects supposed to bring good luck. Thus as the king, for his coronation, "touched white flowers, *svastikas*, unbroken grain, earth, gold, silver, and a gem" (*śvetāḥ sumanaso 'sprṣat*, etc., 12. 40. 7), so with *ālabh*; compare *ālabhya (vīra) kāmasyam*, "touching brass" for good luck (7. 112. 63) and "touching eight lucky objects" (*ālabhya maṅgalāny aṣṭāu*, 7. 127. 14, explained by Nil.: *analo go hiraṇyaṃ ca dūrvā gorocanāmṛtam, akṣataṃ dadhi ce 'ty aṣṭāu maṅgalāni pracakṣate*). According to 13. 131. 8, the evil spirits called Pramathas are kept off by one who is *gorocanāsamālabha*, "in contact with the yellow pigment called *gorocanā*." A king regularly begins the day by worshipping fire and "seeing or touching, *sprṣṭvā*, *svastikas*, *vardhamānas* and *nandyāvartas* (platters and diagrams, gold), wreaths, water-jars, fire, dishes full of unbroken (not husked) barley, *rucaka* (citron?), *rocanā*, pretty bejewelled girls, curds, butter, honey, water, auspicious birds, and whatever else is *pūjitam*, recommended" (7. 82. 20).

Women and ordinary citizens in the epic swear by their sons and lives; but such oaths are not confined to one class nor is "by my life" confined to oaths. Thus in R. 2. 12. 49, Kāikeyī swears "by (my son) Bharata and by my life" (*Bharatenā 'tmanā cā 'haṃ śape te*) that she will be satisfied only with Rāma's banishment, and later the ordinary citizens swear by their sons that they will not live under her rule (ib. 48. 23, *putrāir api śapāmahe*); but meantime Daśaratha, trying to understand her, cries: "By Rāghava I conjure (swear to) thee, speak, tell me what is in your mind," *Rāghaveṇa . . . śape te, brūhi*, where *śape te* is perhaps obsecro, conjure (implore), and the verse virtually repeats what he has said just before, "I can refuse you nothing; *by my life say* what you have in mind." Here *ātmano jīvitena 'pi* is a regular oath-formula

used with *brūhi*, possibly with the implication that the speaker will grant her anything even at the cost of his life, as the commentator takes it, but more probably simply transferred from "swear" to "speak," as in any language such formulas become simply a means of emphasis (R. 2.10.35 and 11.6; in the next verse, *Rāmeṇa . . . śape te vacanakriyām* is "I swear by Rāma to do as you say," rather than, as in PW. s. *śap*, "I entreat you to verify the word"). That oaths in fables are transferred to animals is a matter of course. The cat-and-mouse story of 12.138 thus makes an animal swear "by my life" and use the commonest of colloquial oaths, *sakhe, satyena te śape* (vss. 75 and 133), which is almost as meaninglessly casual as is often *satyam etad bravāmi te*.

At first sight the phrase cited above, "I would touch thy feet," does not seem to belong in the same category with those which indicate that the speaker swears by that which he would not willingly lose. But obviously the phrase as used by Damayantī goes beyond the usual polite *pādābhivandanam* of respectful greeting. It helps to attest her assertion by submission to the hearer's power. In native thought the feet represent the person. Rāma's sandals, worn on his brother's head, are a sign of that brother's dependence on Rāma's superiority. The word foot, even in ordinary parlance, is used instead of person. Thus *parvatas tvatpādasevitaḥ* (12.351.18) is not the mountain trod by thy feet but the "mountain favored by thee" as residence. "I shall see thee again," as an *au revoir*, is expressed by *pādāu drakṣyāmi te punaḥ*, "see thy feet again" (G. 2.18.53). To take great care of the king's person is to "guard his majesty's feet" (*devadevasya pādāu ca devavat paripālaya*, R. 2.58.18). "Obedience to the feet" is a phrase that brings out this idiom even more clearly: *icchāmaḥ pādaśuśrūṣaṁ tava kartuṁ sanātana*, "O Eternal One, we would show obedience to thy feet" (H. 12585). To "touch the feet" is to "make obeisance"; the two expressions even occur as varied readings of the same passage: *praṇāmaṁ akarot pituḥ* in R. 6.121.9 is *pituḥ pādāu samaspraśat* in the corresponding G. 6.104.10. Bharata merely puts into practice what is verbally rendered by "touching the feet with the head," *śīrasā pragrahīṣyāmi caraṇāu* (R. 2.98.9). But such submission not only supports an oath but may imply it. Thus in 13.151.22: "Give me your promise not to injure Brahmans again," followed by the *pratijñā* or promise synonymous with oath: "I will not injure Brahmans again, in

word, thought, or deed; and (to attest this) I touch thy feet," *caranāv api te sprśe*. This *sprśe* is probably the right word in G. 2. 16. 10 (not in the Bomb. text), instead of the received reading *pādāu satyena vāi śape*. Compare *iti satyena te pādāu sprśāmi* in 8. 71. 21-38, which concludes Arjuna's oath, in which, after saying *iti satyaṃ bravīmi te*, he "seized with both hands the king's two feet" and "swore by truth and the king's grace," *prasādena*, as well as by his (three) brothers, to kill the foe, adding "in truth of this I touch my weapon," and then again "in truth of this I touch thy feet." In G. 2. 18. 19 (not in Bomb.) the two formulas are joined, *āyudhaṃ tena satyena pādāu cāi 'vā 'labhe tava* (ib. 29. 24, *satyenā 'labhya pādāu te*).

It is clear that touching the feet is thus an attestation in the form of submission. The speaker who touches another's feet deprecates. He risks by the accompanying oath, whatever he may hope from the hearer's favor, just as Arjuna swears "by thy grace" while touching the emperor's feet, meaning that on failure to fulfill his oath he will expect to lose the royal favor. The same idea is latent and sometimes expressed when touching the feet accompanies not an oath but an entreaty, as in R. 2. 12. 36, *añjaliṃ kurmi Kāikeyi pādāu cā 'pi sprśāmi te*, and ib. 111, *sprśāmi pādāv api te, prasīda me*, "I bow before thee, I touch thy feet . . . I touch thy feet, be gracious to me."

But to "swear by the feet" is to swear by the person and this person is a loved possession, not to be confused with divinity in the case of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, by whose person (or feet) oaths are taken, yet not as if they were gods (like per Jovem), but rather like the similar oaths by sons and brothers and wives. Thus Daśaratha (above) swears "by Rāma," but only as Rāma is his dear son without whom he "cannot live even for a moment." So in 7. 156. 19, *śape 'haṃ Kṛṣṇacaranāir iṣṭāpūrtena cāi 'va ha*, Sātyaki is answering his antagonist's oath in kind, and as Somadatta has just sworn "by my two sons, by my *iṣṭa* and good deeds (I will kill you)," so Sātyaki retorts "by the feet of (my two dear) Kṛṣṇas and by my *iṣṭāpūrta* (I will kill you and both your sons)." The Comm. calls attention to the fact that both Kṛṣṇas must be meant because the oath is "by the (plural) feet," which indeed is not certain, since dual and plural are sometimes used without care (*caranāu* of a deer in 1. 140. 29), but is plausible and from

the point of view of the oath itself of no importance.<sup>7</sup> Also unimportant, yet interesting, is it that as Arjuna (above) swears "by my (three) brothers, Bhīma and the Twins," so Rāma swears "by my three brothers" (*satyam etat śrṇotu me . . . tribhis tair bhrātṛbhiḥ śape*, R. 6. 19. 19 f., not in G. 5. 91).

All oaths then are sworn by what one would not lose. In the law, the slave is owner of nothing important enough to swear by and therefore is sworn "by evil deeds" of every sort, *sarvāis tu pātakaiḥ*, that is by the fruit of evil deeds, or what the perjurer suffers hereafter. The judge tells him what sort of hell-tortures he will get if he perjures himself, so that, logically, he too is sworn by what he would not willingly lose in the way of future happiness. Now it is possible for anyone to give voluntarily an oath based on the same presumption. Such an oath may be taken in exculpation or, like the battle-oaths already recorded, in promise of something to be accomplished (as above, "may I not obtain heaven, if I do not slay him"). The formula is about the same in any case. Instead of saying "I swear by my hopes of heaven," one says "May I go to hell if I lie," which quite literally is said in both epics in sundry cases. The Samsaptakas, who have "sworn together" to effect a certain killing, take such an oath and explain in detail the various hells they will be prepared to go to, as their reward, if they fail in their oath's fulfilment. These confederates "swear in a loud voice in the hearing of all spirits" that if they break their agreement they will go to the hells allotted to such sinners as kill priests and cows or give up a refugee, in fact to all the worlds (hells) of evil-doers (*ye lokā brahmaghātīnām . . . ye ca pāpakṛtām api*); but if they do not break their agreement they shall (or will) go to delightful worlds (*iṣṭāl lokān prāpnuyāmaḥ*, 7. 17. 28-36). Similarly, Arjuna, swearing to slay Jayadratha, says *mā sma puṇyakṛtām* <sup>8</sup> *lokān prāpnuyām* ("I promise you I will slay him to-day; if I do not, may I lose heaven") and mentions several of the hells he will go to, such as the worlds allotted to matricides and priest-slayers (etc., 7. 73. 24 f.). In exculpation there are similar oaths, one in each epic, and the "worlds of sinners" are in part the same, showing that they are practically identical formulas. For example, Bharata exculpates himself from

<sup>7</sup> Because the oath here cannot be by Kṛṣṇa as divinity, but as a beloved friend, or, if dual, by Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.

<sup>8</sup> Better *puṇyakṛtām lokān* (gen. pl.), as in K., than *-kṛtāl*, as in Bomb.

a suspicion of being implicated in his mother's designs by swearing "with terrible curses" (oaths, *śapathān kaṣṭān* or *kṛcchrān śapamānam*) that "he who has approved of Rāma's banishment" should suffer the future fate of one who lives on his daughter,<sup>9</sup> or slays priest or cow, or betrays a confidence, or gives up a refugee (cf. the verbal agreement in *viśvāsaghātīnām* R. G. 2. 79. 17 and in Arjuna's oath, above, 7. 73. 26; *svasutām upajīvatu*, RG. ib. 23<sup>10</sup> and Mbh. 13. 93. 119). The sense is that the one who is guilty of treason shall suffer the fate of the sinners mentioned, and this invocation of a sinner's fate on "whoever is guilty" is enough to free Bharata from suspicion (R. 2. 75. 21 f.; G. 79. 1 f.). The seers accused of theft also "proceeded to swear," *śapathāyo 'pacakramuḥ*, that they were innocent by saying: "May the thief be an injurer of cows and priests, be without piety, *dāivatesv anamaskārah*, kill a refugee, live on his daughter, become a servant or a Purohita (king's chaplain, 13. 93. 119, 130, 136)," which last, Viśvāmitra's curse, is repeated in the second version (ib. 94. 33), immediately following, where the seers "swear with sharp oaths," *śapāma tikṣṇāḥ śapathāḥ* (94. 14). The one who is really guilty invokes (on himself) a blessing instead of a curse and so is detected (*iṣṭam etad, āśīrvādaḥ . . . śapathah*, 93. 137, 94. 46). The worlds (hells) mentioned in the other oaths are here implied and the content of the curse is the same in all: "If I am the thief (or, if I fail to do this) may I be punished in hell." The seers' oath may be mentioned in Manu 8. 110, which in turn is supposed to refer to RV. 7. 104. 15, *adyā mūrīya yadi yātudhāno asmi*. This "may I die to-day" (if I am a cannibal), is at any rate a reasonable historical background for the later more elaborate curses of purgation, which, as above, are called oaths.

The sense of "entreat," obsecro, which appears in a few late passages in the simple root *śap* (*tvām śape*, H. 10396; possibly *pādāu satyena vāi śape*, G. 2. 16. 10), but especially in the participle of the causative stem (where *śāpita* interchanges with *sāsita*,

<sup>9</sup> That is, sells his daughter, *svasutām upajīvatu*. So the Comm., but it may mean on his daughter's wages.

<sup>10</sup> The sinner mentioned here (G. 2. 79. 19) as *grāmaghātīn* is according to the commentator not "the plunderer of a village" (PW.), but the *samūhayājīn* or *grāmayājīn*, v. l. to *grāmaghātīn*, one who is the only priest for a crowd of people or for a village, associated as co-sinner with the *vṛthā-pāṣusamāmbhin*, one who butchers cattle without religious excuse (12. 34. 6).

“bidden”) is not an extension of the idea of curse or swear but grows out of the more radical meaning of *śap* as hold, applicable to both curse and swear (middle voice), the causative having thus the meaning constrain, conjure, entreat, usually with the addition “by my life,” “by thy love.” This holding or binding sense is suggested also by the parallel *satyena parigṛhyāi ’nam*, “holding him fast by his promise (truth),” G. 2. 8. 24, just as one is said to be “constrained by his oath,” *śapatha-yantritah*. Examples of this usage are not infrequent. In R. 3. 24. 13, Rāma says to Lakṣmaṇa, *śāpito mama pādābhyām*, “I constrain, conjure, thee by my feet” (G. here, 30. 15, has *śāpito hy asi patnyā me*, “by my wife”), that is, I hold thee by thy regard for me, as elsewhere we find *śāpitas tvaṃ sakhitvena*, per amicitiam (G. 7. 113. 42, where the Bomb. text has *śāsitaś ca*, enjoined, bidden, 108. 27). In R. 7. 45. 21 = G. 48. 19, the texts vary between *śāpitā hi mayā yūyaṃ pādābhyām jivitena ca* and *bhujābhyām* (in G, which adds *satyam etad bravimi vah*). In this sense *śapto ’si* (*mayā ca Sītayā cāi ’va*) is found in R. 2. 112. 28, where G. 123. 10 has *śāpito ’si*. R. 2. 21. 46 has *śāpitā ’si mama prāṇāḥ, kuru svastyayanāni me*, “By my life I beg of you, say farewell,” where G. substitutes for the imperative “and by my return,” *punarāgamanena me* repeated in a later section (G. 2. 18. 53 and 58. 21). The imperative follows the same phrase in R. 4. 16. 10, *śāpitā ’si mama prāṇāḥ, nivartasva janena ca* (G. 15. 13, *jayena ca*). PW. says that this use of *śap* in the causative is found only in the participle; but in R. 4. 9. 14 (not in G.), *śāpayitvā sa mām padbhyām*, either meaning (“entreating” or “making me swear”) is possible. The radical meaning is everywhere present. One touches, holds, seizes on, and thus *śap* (*capiō*) and *ā-labḥ* are rightly synonymous in the oath; one binds oneself by an oath and *śaptas* (above) is *captus*, “thou art held fast” (constrained, by regard for me). So a curse is like a net thrown upon one, or a fetter from which one has to be freed.



## NOTES ON TWO LAMA PAINTINGS

BARON A. VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN

THE PICTURES reproduced on Plates I and II were sold to the present writer by a Chinese curio dealer at Peking in 1927. On the back of the first picture we find the following Tibetan inscription: rgyal pa rin po che Skyes rabs, which means: incarnations of the Dalai Lama.<sup>1</sup>

Before Śākyamuni Buddha appeared on this earth about twenty-five centuries ago he is said to have been incarnated hundreds of times among gods, among men, and even among animals. Some, if not all, of those incarnations were believed in by the Buddhists who erected certain monuments in India long before the beginning of our era.<sup>2</sup>

The doctrine of transmigration is thus one of the most ancient tenets of Buddhism, but certain aspects of it do not seem to have been elaborated until almost two thousand years had passed after the death of Śākyamuni Buddha (about 480 B. C.). The first infant known to history who was recognized as an incarnation of a recently deceased Buddhist Church dignitary and whose right to hold office was founded upon that recognition seems to have been Dge ḥdun rgya mcho (about 1470-1542) who is regarded as the second Dalai Lama. His predecessor, the first Dalai Lama Dge ḥdun grub pa,<sup>3</sup> was not "discovered" as an infant but installed in office as a grown-up man. Coñ kha pa (about 1360-1420), the founder of the Yellow Church, is said to have prophesied that

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<sup>1</sup> That inscription contains two evident mistakes, rgyal ba instead of rgyal pa, and chehi instead of che would be correct. Rgyal ba rin po che literally "the precious conqueror," is the Tibetan equivalent of the title Dalai Lama. Cf. Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 312. My method of transliterating the Tibetan alphabet is described in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (Vol. XV, p. xi). I use it here with one exception: I replace ç by ś in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The stūpa of Bharhut is one of the early monuments decorated with sculptured scenes from Śākyamuni's former existences.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pander's *Pantheon*, Berlin 1890, No. 43. In the 諸 (Chu) 佛 (Fo) 菩 (P'u) 薩 (Sa) 聖 (Shêng) 像 (Hsieng) 贊 (Tsan) too Dge ḥdun grub pa is spoken of as the first (Chinese t'ou pei) Dalai Lama. As to the Chu Fo, etc., cf. my "Remarks on the Chu Fo, etc.," *Bulletin of the (Peking) Metropolitan Library*, Vol. I, p. 1.

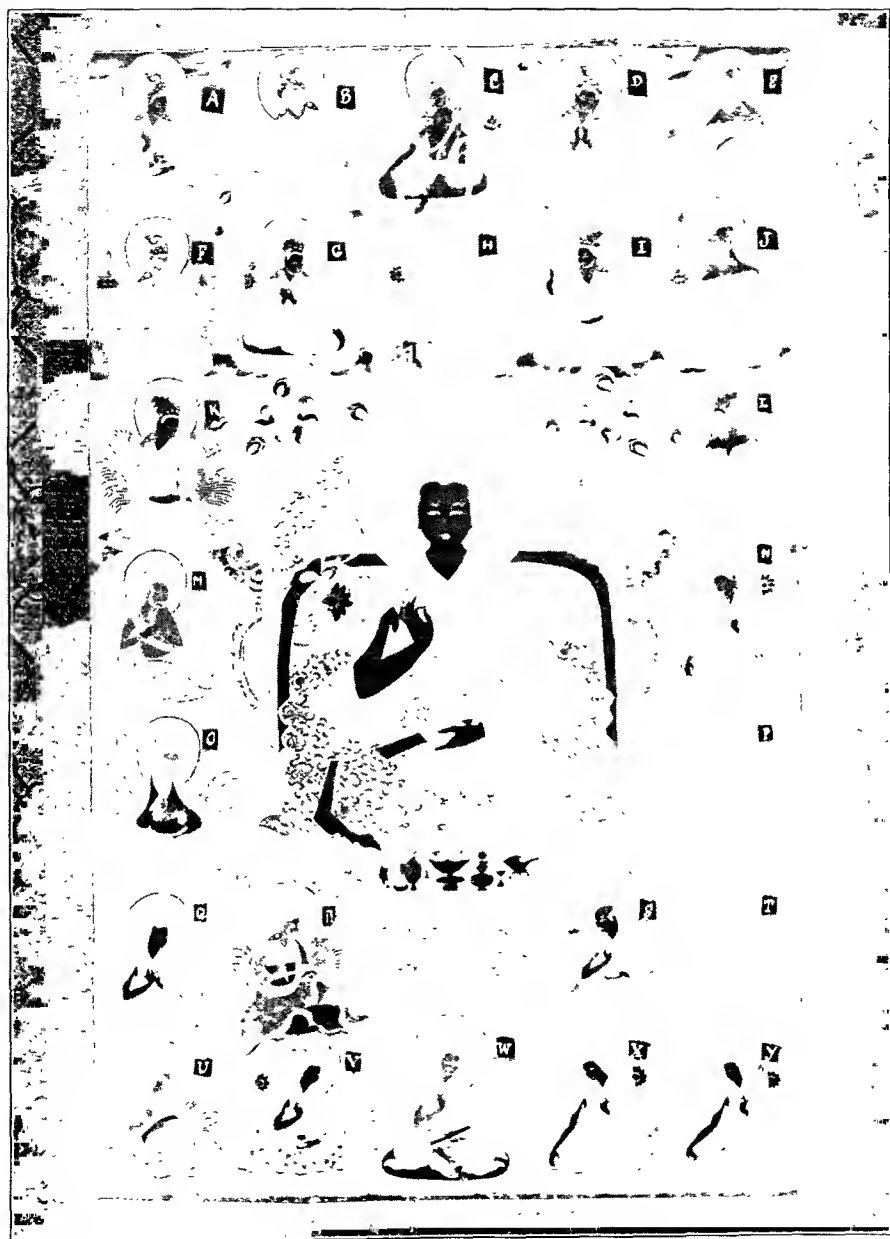


PLATE I

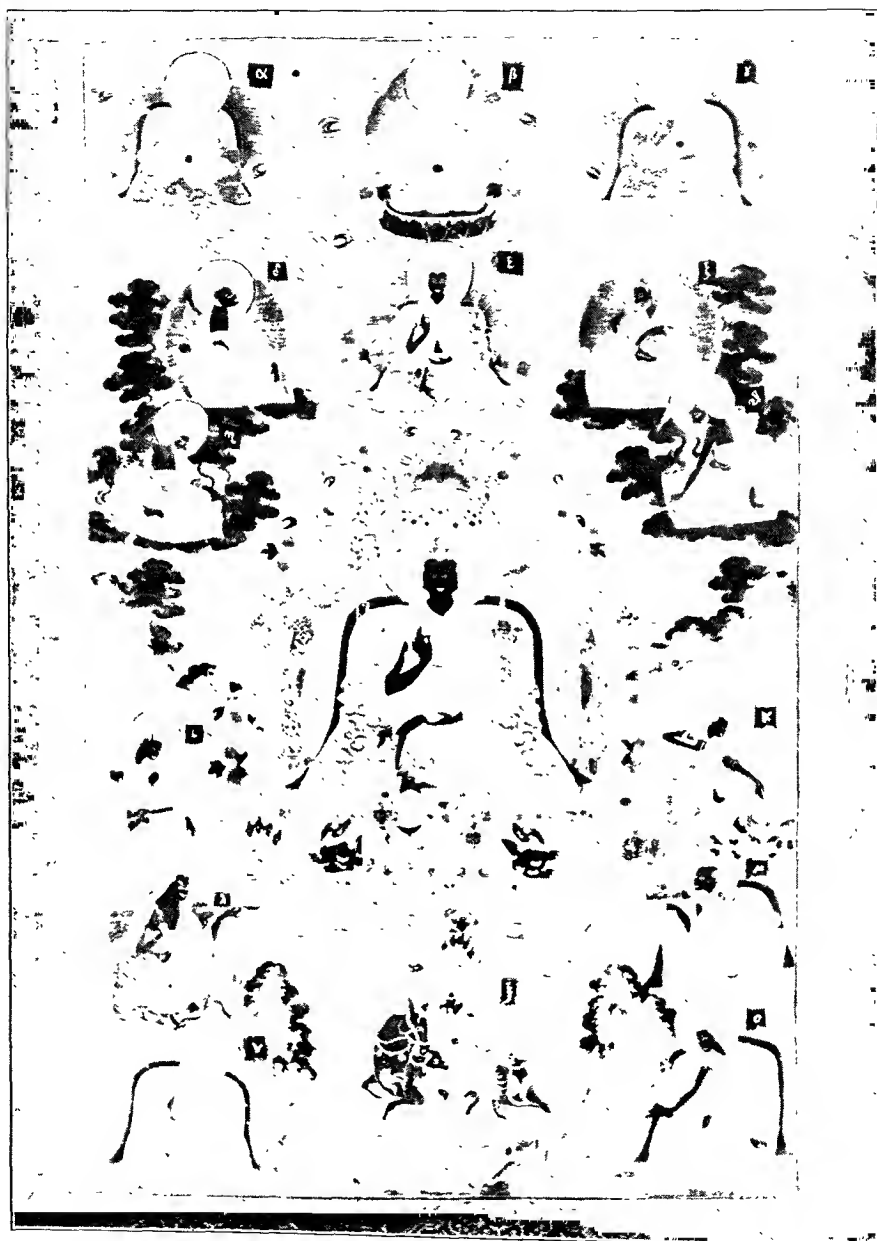


PLATE II

Dge ḥdun grub pa's reincarnations would succeed him in his office for ever.<sup>4</sup> So far this prophecy has come true and all the Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, down to the present holder of the title, are believed to be identical with Dge ḥdun grub pa in substance, though not in body. Upon the demise of a Dalai Lama the next receptacle of his Karma is "discovered" by means of an elaborate oracular process among a number of especially favored infants.<sup>5</sup> In order to add further weight to the authority of the Dalai Lamas the "spiritual ancestry" of those prelates was at a later date traced back beyond the first Dalai Lama, and Avalokiteśvara, the divine protector of Tibet, himself was, by pious fiction, regarded as the founder of the line.

Blo bzañ ḥjam dpal rgya mcho, the eighth Dalai Lama, whose portrait occupies the centre of Plate I, is, according to the Miñ gi grañs,<sup>6</sup> the fifty-eighth of the line. No list of those 58 incarnations seems ever to have appeared in the West, and I give all the names and titles as I find them on the pages 18a-19b of the work just mentioned. (1) ḥphags mchog spyān ras gzigs [paramāryāvalokiteśvara], (2) rgyal po ḥjig rten dbañ, (3) ston paḥi spyān sñar bram zehi khyeḥu<sup>7</sup> snañ ba, (4) bram zehi khyeḥu gsal ba, (5) rgyal bu chags pa med pa, (6) rgyal bu kun tu dgah, (7) rgyal bu lha skyes, (8) rgyal po dkon mchog ḥbañs, (9) rgyal po dad pa brtan pa, (10) rgyal po dpal bzañ, (11) rgyal po dad pa rab tu brtan pa, (12) rgyal po blo gros, (13) dad ldan khyeḥu dgah ḥzin, (14) dge bsñen beun pa, (15) khyeḥu nor bzañ (16) khyeḥu zla ba, (17) khyeḥu rin chen sñiñ po, (18) kyeḥu padma,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Schulemann, *Geschichte der Dalailamas*, Heidelberg, 1911, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> That process was regulated by an edict of Ch'ien Lung. See W. W. Rockhill, *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XI, p. 55.

<sup>6</sup> The author of that work is Kloñ rdol bla ma ṅag dbañ blo bzañ, and its full Tibetan title is Bstan ḥzin gyi skyes bu rgya bod du byon paḥi miñ gi grañs. In the following lines I use the characters Mgg instead of that long title. The block print of the work which I possess was evidently printed at Peking, because we find Chinese as well as Tibetan numbers on its pages.

<sup>7</sup> The Mgg reads khyēḥu here as well as in the following lines. I prefer khyeḥu which is the reading of the Dpag bsam rin po cheḥi sñe ma. That work is a biography of the seventh Dalai Lama and contains most of the names occurring in our list. The Dpag bsam rin po cheḥi sñe ma forms part of the Gsuñ ḥbum of the Lcañ skya hu thog tu Lalitavajra. As to the latter, compare my "Remarks on an Eighteenth Century Lamaist Document," *Kuo Hsio Chi K'an*, Peking, 1923.

(19) khyehu hod zer, (20) khyehu byams pa, (21) rgyal po señgehi sgra, (22) rgyal po bde mchog, (23) sgyu ma sprul pa šes pa lha yi rgyal po, (24) khyehu dge hdun hpheh, (25) pho rin rā za, (26) rgyal po ge sar, (27) sprul pañi ri boñ, (28) lo brgyad byis pa, (29) rzi boñi rnam par bstan pa, (30) bram ze rin chen mchog, (31) dge sloñ bsam gtan bzañ po, (32) dur khrod rnal hbyor pa, (33) gliñ phran rgyal po, (34) bya yid brtan sro loñ kun tu rgyu, (35) rgyal po skyabs sbyin, (36) za hor rgyal po gçug lag hzin, (37) chos rgyal dge ba dpal, (38) bod yul rgyal poñi thog ma gñah khri beñ po, (39) bod yul bstan pañi dbu brñes tho ri sñan šal, (40) chos rgyal sroñ beñ sgam po, (41) rgyal po khri sroñ ldehu beñ, (42) mñah bdag khri ral pa, (43) chos rgyal dge ba dpal, (44) za ya a nan ta (sic!) kha che dgon pa pa, (45) hbrom ston rgyal bañi hbyuñ gnas, (46) sa chen kun dgah sñiñ po, (47) zhañ hgro bañi mgon po g'yu brag pa, (48) mñah bdag ñañ ral, (49) lha rje dge ba hbum, (50) gnas lña mkhyen pa padma vazra, (51) rgyal ba dge hdun grub, (52) rgyal ba dge hdun rgya mcho, (53) rgyal ba bsod nams rgya mcho, (54) rgyal ba yon tan rgya mcho, (55) rgyal ba lña pa chen po ñag dbañ blo bzañ rgya mcho, (56) rgyal ba chañs dbyañs rgya mcho, (57) rgyal ba blo bzañ bskal bzañ rgya mcho, (58) rgyal ba hjam dpal rgya mcho.

The figures of our Dalai Lama picture evidently represent the eighth Dalai Lama with a mere selection of his spiritual ancestors, because instead of 58 personages it shows only 26, the central figure and figures A-Y.<sup>s</sup>

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<sup>s</sup> Here we are dealing with a line of incarnations attributing 25 spiritual ancestors to the eighth Dalai Lama, or 24 to the seventh Dalai Lama. We know that a still more abridged line has been used for the decoration of Lama Temples. That line was represented by 13 separate pictures showing the seventh Dalai Lama, whose en face picture was placed in the centre, and six ancestral pictures looking to the left or to the right, respectively, on either side. I possess three pictures which must have belonged to such a set, and M. de Lagerberg, the Royal Swedish Chargé d'affaires at Peking, has one. Among the twelve ancestors of the seventh Dalai Lama Avalokiteśvara must have occupied the first place on the right, Dkon mchog hbañs (Mgg, No. 8) the first place on the left, Kun dgah sñiñ po (Mgg, No. 46) the third place on the right, and the sixth Dalai Lama the sixth place on the left of the seventh Dalai Lama. Two of the paintings in my possession have been published by Miss Olive Gilbreath (*Asia*, Vol. XXIX, p. 474), and by Mr. Yu Dawchuan in his *Love Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, Peiping, 1930.

All our figures bear Tibetan inscriptions indicating the corresponding names, except Fig. C, which evidently represents the Khasarpaṇa<sup>9</sup> form of Avalokiteśvara, the founder of the line (Mgg, No. 1). Fig. B bears the inscription *h̄jig rten dbaṅ phyug*<sup>10</sup> (Skt. Lokeśvara). Lokeśvara is a well-known name of Avalokiteśvara,<sup>11</sup> but here that name is evidently attributed to a distinct incarnation of the patron saint of Tibet as an earthly King. The name which appears as *Dkon mchog hbaṅs* (Ratnadāsa?) in the Mgg (No. 8) as well as in Lalitavajra's work and on M. de Lagerberg's picture takes the form of *Dkon mchog dbaṅ* in our Fig. I. No such name is known to me or to the Lamas I could consult. *Dad pa brtan* (Fig. K, cf. Mgg, No. 9) *Lhaḥi rgyal po* (Fig. J, cf. Mgg, No. 23), and *Dge ba dpal* (Fig. L, cf. Mgg, No. 37, and No. 43) are equally unknown.<sup>12</sup> Fig. D represents *Gñāḥ Khri bcan po* (Mgg, No. 38), a King of Tibet.<sup>13</sup> He is said to have come from India, and it is to him that the Tibetans, who trace their origin back to a pair of monkeys, ascribe the organization of the first important state among their savage ancestors.

*Lha tho tho ri* (Fig. E, Mgg, No. 39) is another early king of Tibet. Tradition reports the miraculous apparition<sup>14</sup> of a miniature pagoda and of some other Buddhistic objects in the palace as the most outstanding event of *Lha tho tho ri*'s reign. The King did not, however, appreciate those heavenly gifts, being ignorant of Buddhism. It was not until five generations later, under King *Sroṅ bcan sgam po* (Fig. G, Mgg, No. 40), that the faith was introduced into Tibet. He reigned in the seventh century A. D. Among his wives he had two foreign princesses, one from China

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the *Chu Fo*, etc., No. 160, and Bhattacharya's *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Oxford Univ. Press, 1924, p. 36. The halo of our figure is green, while on another picture (reproduced in *Asia*, see above) Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara has a white halo.

<sup>10</sup> The Mgg (No. 2) has *h̄jig rten dbaṅ*, instead of *h̄jig rten dbaṅ phyug*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Das, *Dictionary*, p. 456.

<sup>12</sup> One of my Tibetan friends suggested that those unknown kings might be rulers of Śambhala.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Schlagintweit, *Könige von Tibet*, Munich, 1866, p. 15; Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, St. Petersburg, 1829, p. 23; Köppen, *Religion des Buddha*, II, p. 47; Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Köppen, *op. cit.*, p. 52. Schlagintweit (*op. cit.*, Tabelle I) gives 463 A. D. as the date of this event. The miniature pagoda which we see in *Tho tho ri*'s right hand (Fig. E) probably represents one of the objects which miraculously appeared in the king's palace.

and one from Nepal. He extended the frontiers of his realm in the east as well as in the west, and founded the city which now bears the name of Lhasa.

The next great patron of Tibetan Buddhism was King Khri sron ldehu bean (8th century A. D.), who invited the famous Padmasambhava, the real founder of Lamaism, to Tibet. Khri sron ldehu bean appears among the Dalai Lama's ancestors in the Mgg (No. 41), but our Dalai Lama picture ignores him. King Khri ral pa (Fig. F, Mgg, No. 42), who reigned in the 9th century A. D., was famed for defeating the foreign enemies of Tibet and for his devotion to the Buddhist clergy. In order to honor the Lamas he is said to have allowed them to sit on his long pigtail.<sup>15</sup>

Our Fig. M (inscription: Kha che sgom pa) evidently represents the same personage which appears as Zaya ananta kha che dgon pa pa in the Mgg (No. 44) and as Saṅs rgyas sgom pa in Lalitavajra's work.<sup>16</sup> Hbrom ston (Fig. N, Mgg, No. 45) lived in the 11th century, and was the most celebrated Tibetan pupil of Atiśa, an Indian Buddhist who visited Tibet and founded a reformed sect of Buddhism in that country. Our Fig. O bears the following inscription: sa chen kun sñiñ, and the corresponding name in the Mgg (No. 46) is: sa chen kun dgañ sñiñ po. According to page 12a of the Bstan pañi sbyin bdag byuñ çul gyi miñ gi grañs<sup>17</sup> the bearer of that name was a son of the founder of the Sa skya pa sect, and Jaeschke (*Dictionary*, p. 570) says that he was born in the year 1090.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Das, *Dictionary*, p. 1171. As to the various names attributed to this pious monarch, see Schlagintweit, op. cit., p. 57; Schmidt, op. cit., p. 47; Das, op. cit., p. 361; Köppen, op. cit., II, p. 72.

<sup>16</sup> The only thing my Lama friends could tell me about him was the name of his teacher: Rigs pañi khu byug, a name entirely unknown to the books (or at least to the indices) at my disposal. I have not succeeded in connecting Fig. A of our Dalai Lama picture (inscription: Nor hzin dbaṅ po) with any of the names in the Mgg. Nor hzin dbaṅ po [Vasumdharendra] looks like a mere title, and is probably used here instead of one of the royal names found in the Mgg, but missing on our picture.

<sup>17</sup> The author of that work, a copy of which, printed at Peking, I possess, is Klon rdol bla ma ñag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ. Mr. B. I. Pankratoff very kindly drew my attention to the two works by that Lama mentioned in this article. According to Waddell (op. cit., p. 69), Khon dkon mehog rgyal po, the founder of the sect, was born in 1033. These dates are probably a few years wrong; see Paul Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin, 1913, pp. 633 ff.

G'yu brag pa (Fig. P) must have been connected with the Tibetan district of Zhañ, because he is designated as Zhañ hgro bañi mgon po in the Mgg (No. 47) and as Zhañ rin po che by Lalitavajra. Mñah bdag ñaṅ<sup>18</sup> (Fig. R, Mgg, No. 48) is, according to Das (op. cit., p. 361), the name of a Buddhist saint. The Mgg (No. 49) gives Dge ba hbum (Fig. S) the title of a lha rje, and Padma Vazra (Fig. W) appears in the Mgg (No. 50) as possessing the five sciences.<sup>19</sup>

The representations of Dge hdun grub pa,<sup>20</sup> the first Dalai Lama, which we possess, show important differences. In our Fig. U he holds a book in his left hand and nothing in his right one. In Pander's *Pantheon* (No. 43) he holds a lotus flower in his right hand and nothing in his left one. In the Chu Fo, etc. (No. 24) he holds a vajra in his right hand and a lotus in his left one. Grünwedel, Waddell, and Schulemann agree with the Mgg in giving 1391 as the year of Dge hdun grub pa's birth.<sup>21</sup> Dge hdun grub pa is known as a great propagator of the yellow faith and as the founder of numerous monasteries. More important than his other

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<sup>18</sup> Ñaṅ is sometimes spelt myaṅ; cf. Das, *Dictionary*, p. 474. According to Csoma (*Grammar*, p. 185) G'yu brag pa was born in 1121, and Mñah bdag ñaṅ in 1134. These dates cannot both be correct, if we assume that they refer to the incarnations represented on our picture and mentioned in the Mgg. G'yu brag pa was evidently a most distinguished (hgro bañi mgon po, rin po che) personage, and he must have been older than thirteen when he died.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Das, *Dictionary*, p. 750, and Sagaki's edition of the Mahāvīyutpatti, p. 124. Several Padmavajras seem to have distinguished themselves as teachers of the Tantras; cf. Tāranātha (Tib. text), pp. 83 and 210; the Pag Sam Jon Zang (ed. Das, Calcutta, 1908), Part I, p. lxiii; and Grünwedel's translation of the Bkaḥ babs bdun ldan (*Bibl. Buddh.* XVIII), p. 195. But none of those bearers of the name can, for chronological reasons, be identified with the Padmavajra mentioned in the Mgg as the 50th incarnation. Our Padmavajra must have lived between 1200 (roughly) and 1391 (the year of Dge hdun grub pa's birth), while his namesakes belong to much earlier epochs.

<sup>20</sup> Most of the eight Dalai Lama names found on our picture are misspelt. I ignore those orthographic errors in my text, because there can be no doubt about the personages whom our artist wanted to represent. In spelling the names I follow the more authoritative printed sources.

<sup>21</sup> The Mgg gives leags mo lug gi lo as the year of his birth, without specifying the month. That iron sheep year included most of 1391 and ended in the early part of 1392. The Mgg agrees almost exactly with the dates which Waddell (op. cit., p. 233) assigns to the Dalai Lamas, and I use them as approximately correct for the purposes of this article.



foundations is Tashilumpo (Bkra śis lhun po) which, though founded by a Dalai Lama, has, for many centuries, been known as the residence of the Panchen Lamas. Dge ḥdun grub pa died in 1475, and a few months after his demise Dge ḥdun rgya mcho (Fig. X), then an infant, was declared to be his incarnate successor. Bsod nams rgya mcho (born in 1543), the third Dalai Lama (Fig. T), extended his activities beyond the borders of Tibet, and visited the Chinese province of Kansu, as well as Mongolia. He converted many Mongols to his faith, and received an embassy from the Ming Emperor Wan Li of China, who conferred important honors upon the Tibetan prelate. Yon tan rgya mcho (1589-1617), the fourth Dalai Lama (Fig. Q), was "discovered" among the infants of a princely family of Mongolia, and spent his early youth in that country. He died young, and his short life seems to have been uneventful.

Nag dbaṅ blo bzaṅ rgya mcho (1617-1682), the fifth and most famous Dalai Lama, is generally represented as holding a lotus flower in one hand and a book in the other.<sup>22</sup> In our Fig. H he holds a lotus flower and a water vessel, but no book. This Dalai Lama, who is generally designated as the great Fifth (Lña pa chen po, cf. Mgg, No. 55), received a most careful education and was ordained by the celebrated Panchen Lama Blo Bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mchan, his guardian. After reaching his majority the great Fifth did not confine his activities to the spiritual sphere, but became a most important factor in the political life of Asia. It is due to his statesmanship that most of the enemies of the Dge lugs pa sect have disappeared from Tibet and that practically the entire country has for the last three centuries recognized the temporal as well as the spiritual rule of the Yellow Church. The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa have, ever since the great Fifth's reign, been the most powerful figures in Tibetan politics, and may be designated as priest-kings, while Nag dbaṅ's four immediate predecessors could hardly claim to be more than important prelates.

Chañs dbyaṅs rgya mcho (1683-1706), the sixth Dalai Lama (Fig. Y), behaved more like a merry King than like a celibate monk in private life, and is the supposed author of a volume of Tibetan love songs.<sup>23</sup> His successor Skal bzaṅ rgya mcho (1708-

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Pander's *Pantheon*, No. 46, and the Chu Fo, etc., No. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Those love songs have been edited and translated into Chinese and English by Mr. Yu Dawchuyuan, Peiping, 1930.

1758), the seventh Dalai Lama, was a pious priest and a capable King. On our Fig. V he holds a begging bowl and a plain lotus. Pander's *Pantheon* (No. 50) shows him with a lotus surmounted by Manjuśrī's book and sword in his right and another book in his left hand. In the Chu Fo, etc. (No. 28) he holds a plain lotus in his right and a book in his left hand.

Blo bzañ hjam dpal rgya mcho (1758-1805), the eighth Dalai Lama, occupies the centre of our Dalai Lama picture. During his reign the Lhasa curia played an important part in Asiatic politics and made its influence felt even in Europe. The exodus of certain Kalmük tribes from European Russia in 1771 is said to have been partly due to advice received from Lhasa.<sup>24</sup>

The Pañchen Lama Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (1738-1779) visited China and offered the Emperor Ch'ien Lung a number of presents on the occasion of that monarch's birthday in 1779. Those presents included a description of the Lama's previous incarnations,<sup>25</sup> and it is not altogether impossible that the original of Plate II should have accompanied that gift.

On the back of the painting represented on Plate II we find the following Tibetan inscription: Pañ chen rin po Chehi skye[s] rabs, which means: incarnations of the Pañchen Lama.<sup>26</sup>

The central figure of Plate II certainly represents the Pañchen Iama Blo Bzañ dpal ldan ye śes,<sup>27</sup> and most of the remaining portraits can easily be recognized as those of the said prelate's

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., p. 199.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., p. 203. I possess a printed description of the previous incarnations of Lalitavajra, an eighteenth-century Grand Lama of Peking. I have no doubt that the previous incarnations of the Dalai Lama and of the Pañchen Lama have been similarly described and issued in book form, but no such descriptions could be found in Peking.

<sup>26</sup> Pañ chen is short for Pañdita chen po, the great pundit, and rin po che means "precious." The present-day Pañchen Lama is often designated as Tashi (Bkra śis) Lama by European and American writers, because Tashilumpo (Bkra śis lhun po), a monastery in Tibet, is regarded as his official residence. In China he is known as the Pan Ch'an La Ma 班禪喇嘛).

<sup>27</sup> The central figure of another painting in my possession (reproduced in *Asia*, Vol. XXIX, p. 476) evidently represents the same prelate, and bears an inscription which gives his name as Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes. A number of other inscribed paintings in my possession enable me to identify most of the remaining portraits and images on Plate II.

spiritual ancestors mentioned in Grünwedel's list.<sup>28</sup> The latter contains the same names (with but slight modifications) which we find in a passage of the Mgg (p. 10a) entitled paṇ chen sku hphreñ : (I) dañ po gnas brtan rab hbyor, (II) byaṅ śambha lahi rigs ldan thog ma chos rgyal hjam dbyaṅs grags pa, (III) slob dpon legs ldan hbyed, (IV) slob dpon hñigs med hbyuñ gnas sam a bhya ka ra, (V) rta nag hgos lo ccha pa, (VI) sa skya pañḍi ta kun dgah rgyal mchan, (VII) g'yuñ ston rdo rje dpal, (VIII) mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzañ po, (IX) bsod nams phyogs kyi glañ po, (X) dben sa pa blo bzañ don grub, (XI) paṇ chen blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mchan, (XII)<sup>29</sup> paṇ chen blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po, paṇ chen blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes rnamso.

The Mgg (No. 1) seems to regard Subhūti<sup>30</sup> (Fig. 8), not the Buddha Amitābha<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 9), as the founder of the line. Subhūti, a contemporary of the Buddha Śākyamuni, is one of the most celebrated personages known to Mahāyāna literature. Entire volumes contain nothing but dialogues between the Buddha and that disciple.

Many authors<sup>32</sup> affirm that the Pañchen Lamas are regarded as incarnations of the Buddha Amitābha, and Schulemann even suggests that that doctrine was invented by the crafty great Fifth (Dalai Lama), in order to convey a subtle hint to the Pañchen Lama. The Dalai Lama may, indeed, have wished the Pañchen

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Grünwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus* (Leipzig, 1900), p. 207. Grünwedel's list is mainly based on an article by Das in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1882) which, unfortunately, is not available in Peking.

<sup>29</sup> Nothing corresponds in the original Mgg with the figures I-XII. I have added them in order to facilitate a comparison of the Mgg list with Grünwedel's list. The two lists are practically identical.

<sup>30</sup> The name Rab hbyor which we find in the Mgg is a translation of Sanskrit Subhūti.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to the original of Plate II, I possess three complete sets of paintings (one set of three, and two sets of thirteen) representing Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes and his spiritual ancestors. The artists who painted those three sets certainly did not regard the Buddha Amitābha as the founder of the line. It is difficult to say whether Amitābha appears on Plate II as a spiritual ancestor or in another capacity. Plate II, Fig. 8 shows that not all personages surrounding the central portrait must necessarily be regarded as ancestors.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., pp. 98 and 143; Köppen, op. cit., p. 127; Waddell, op. cit., p. 232; Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 275 and 419.

Lama to keep out of human affairs like his supposed ancestor Amitābha, in order to give a free hand in Tibetan politics to the self-appointed descendant of Avalokiteśvara,<sup>33</sup> who is known to belong to this world as well as to the next. It cannot be denied that the general aspect of Plates I and II considerably strengthens the above-mentioned hypothesis: Plate I shows ten earthly kings among the Dalai Lama's ancestors, while Plate II has only one among those of the Pañchen Lama. That solitary monarch (Fig 8) is called Hjam dpal grags (Mañjuśrikīrti) according to two inscribed pictures in my collection, and Hjam dbyaṅs grags pa<sup>34</sup> (Mañjughoṣakīrti) according to the Mgg (No. II). Legs ldan hbyed (Fig. 7, Mgg, No. III) was a famous Indian philosopher, some of whose works have been translated into Tibetan and are preserved in the Tanjur.<sup>35</sup>

Abhayākara (Fig. 9, Mgg, No. IV) was an Indian expert in Buddhist magic and lived, according to Grünwedel (*Mythologie*, p. 43), in the ninth century.<sup>36</sup>

I possess two inscribed portraits (No. 112 and No. 350 of my collection) of Rta nag hgos,<sup>37</sup> and in both inscriptions he is described as a pupil of Atīśa. The inscriptions further contain the following line: gsañ ba kun hdus bsgrub bsad gtan la phab.

<sup>33</sup> We have seen above that Avalokiteśvara is the supposed ancestor of the Dalai Lamas.

<sup>34</sup> Grünwedel, l. c., evidently considers Mañjuśrikīrti as the Sanskrit equivalent of Hjam dbyaṅs grags pa, which is wrong. Dbyaṅs may stand for ghoṣa, but can never represent śrī. What the correct name was, is difficult to decide, because we deal here with a King of Sambhala who must be as imaginary an entity as his kingdom. The Mañjuśrikīrti, who composed certain treatises forming part of the Tanjur (compare Cordier's *Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 266, and Vol. II, p. 426), may have suggested the name of our mythical King. Those who consider the great Fifth (Dalai Lama) as the inventor of the Pañchen Lama's earlier ancestry may see a reflex of an actual political concession in the fact that one King is found among the Pañchen Lama's ancestors, because the incarnations of the latter have enjoyed some secular power in a restricted part of Tibet for centuries.

<sup>35</sup> His Sanskrit name was, according to Cordier's *Catalogue* (Vol. II, p. 299), Bhavaviveka, and the Chinese call him 清辯 (Ch'ing Pien). Cf. Nanjio's *Catalogue*, Appendix I, No. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. also Tāranātha (Russian translation by Vassilyev), pp. 240-243, 251, 252.

<sup>37</sup> According to Das (*Dictionary*, p. 146), Khug pa lhas rci is another name of Rta nag hgos. Grünwedel (*Mythol.*, p. 207) reads Khug pa lhas rciś, and Waddell (op. cit., p. 236) has Khug pa lhas bcaś.

We may, therefore, say that Rta nag hgos (Fig. ι, Mgg, No. V) was an editor of Buddhist texts who lived in the eleventh century. He and his successors in the line of incarnations were Tibetans.

The Sa skya paṇḍita Kun dgah rgyal mchan (Fig. κ, Mgg, No. VI) is celebrated for his expedition to Mongolia,<sup>38</sup> where he was highly successful as a Buddhist missionary. The date of his birth is 1182, and he died in 1252.<sup>39</sup>

Rdo rje dpal (Fig. λ, Mgg, No. VII), who was born in 1284 and died in 1376, is also known for his missionary work in Mongolia. He was a great magician, and our painting shows him with the head of the god Mahākāla, whom he could summon by means of tantric rites.<sup>40</sup>

Mkhas grub (1385-1439) was one of the preferred pupils of the great reformer Ṣon kha pa. Our painting (Fig. μ, Mgg, No. VIII) shows the deceased Teacher mounted on a white elephant appearing to Mkhas grub, who is in the act of worshipping the apparition.<sup>41</sup>

Bsod nams phyogs glaṅ (1439-1505) (Fig. ν, Mgg, No. IX) is said to have been the first abbot of the Bkra śis lhun po monastery, and was generally recognized as one of the two highest prelates of the Yellow Church.<sup>42</sup>

Dben sa pa blo bzaṅ don grub (1505-1570) is the next incarnation (Mgg, No. X). The portrait of the saint which we find on Plate II (Fig. ο) differs from other representations of the same personage which we possess.<sup>43</sup>

The Paṇchen Lama Blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mchan (1569-1662) is characterized by an elaborate cap which he wears here (Fig. α) as well as on all the other representations known to me. He is regarded as the first Paṇchen Lama by Waddell (op. cit., p. 236) and by Das (*Dictionary*, p. 780), as the third Paṇchen Lama by Pander (No. 47), and as the fourth<sup>44</sup> Paṇchen Lama by Schule-

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythol.*, pp. 61, 62, and 52.

<sup>39</sup> I accept most of the dates which Waddell (op. cit., p. 236) assigns to this saint and to the succeeding Paṇchen incarnations.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Grünwedel, *Mythol.*, pp. 66, 67, and 57.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., pp. 90 and 92.

<sup>42</sup> He as well as Dge ḥdun grub pa, the first Dalai Lama, were highly honoured by the Chinese court; cf. Schulemann, op. cit., pp. 93, 105, 106.

<sup>43</sup> Don grub holds a book on most of the pictures known to me. Cf. Pander, op. cit., No. 45. In our Fig. 0 the book is missing.

<sup>44</sup> We find similar discrepancies as to the correct designations of the two incarnations which succeeded Blo bzaṅ chos kyi rgyal mchan.

mann (op. cit., p. 277). He is the first incarnation of this line before whose name we find the words *paṅ chen* in the Mgg (No. XI). This saint played an important part in the religious and in the political life of Tibet during the reign of the great fifth Dalai Lama, as whose guardian he acted for many years.

Our Fig. γ shows the Paṅchen Lama Blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po (1663-1737), Mgg, No. XII. This saint was invited to Peking by the Emperor K'ang Hsi, but he never visited the Imperial capital on account of the fact that he had not had small-pox, a malady which proves fatal to many Tibetan travellers in China.<sup>45</sup>

In addition to the Buddha Amitābha and the Paṅchen Lama Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes with his "authentic" ancestors, our Plate II shows a Lama (Fig. ε) whom I have failed to identify, and the goddess Śrīdevī (Fig. ξ) who is said to have suggested the foundation of the monastery of Bkra śis lhun po, the official residence of the Paṅchen Lamas.<sup>46</sup> Let us hope that the present holder of that title may soon be able to reoccupy the home of his ancestors.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ's immediate successor Blo bzañ dpal ldan ye śes (Plate II, central figure) did go to China, and died there of small-pox in 1779. A rumour current at the time that he died of poisoning, and that Imperial displeasure, not small-pox, was the cause of his death, hardly deserves credence. Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., pp. 166, 167, and 204.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Schulemann, op. cit., p. 92.

<sup>47</sup> On account of serious differences with the reigning Dalai Lama, the Paṅchen Lama has been living in China and in Mongolia for a number of years.

# NEW KIRKUK DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SECURITY TRANSACTIONS<sup>1</sup>

E. A. SPEISER

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

## PART I

IN THE YEAR 1930 I published in *AASOR* X. 1-73 an essay dealing with the "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws." From Chiera's *Texts of Varied Contents* (*HSS* V) 40 documents had been selected, which illustrated the application of the family laws of ancient Nuzi. They were presented in transliteration and translation, and an analytical introduction took up the subject matter in considerable detail. The present contribution forms a second essay based on the same Harvard volume. This time the starting point of the discussion is the group of so-called "security transactions" (*ditennūtu* tablets). *HSS* V was found to contain 20 texts that have a direct bearing on the subject; they are likewise presented in transliteration and translation, and the introduction offers an analysis of the contents. One other document has been included (§1) because of the light that it sheds upon the problem of *kaška*,<sup>2</sup> with which we meet so frequently in these texts.

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<sup>1</sup>The following abbreviations have been used in the present study:

*AASOR*: *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

*Afo*: *Archiv für Orientforschung*

*AO*: *Archiv Orientální*

*ASAW*: *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

*Family Laws*: Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws," *AASOR* X (1930), pp. 1-73

*Gadd*: "Tablets from Kirkuk," *Revue d'Assyriologie* XXIII (1926), pp. 50-161

*NKRA*: Koschaker, "Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit," *ASAW* XXXIX, no. V.

*Nu.*: Chiera: *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi (Publications of the Baghdad School)*

*RORH*: Koschaker, "Über Einige Griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus," *ASAW* XLII, no. I.

Other titles have been cited in full.

<sup>2</sup>See below, section 7.

In a third and final essay I intend to subject to a similar treatment all the remaining tablets of *HSS V*.

As was indicated in *Family Laws*, the material here offered has been ready for publication for several years. Two seasons of field work in Iraq have been primarily responsible for the long delay. In the meantime, there has appeared another Harvard volume of Nuzi texts (*HSS IX*), selected and copied by R. H. Pfeiffer. Quite naturally, I have not ignored in the present discussion this exceedingly welcome accession to the rapidly growing Nuzi Library. In the case of a recently opened field, such as that of the Kirkuk texts, fresh material helps to place the discussion on a broader basis, even where it does not alter or modify conclusions that had been previously reached.

Thureau-Dangin's system of transliteration (*Le Syllabaire Accadien*) has again been followed without being carried, however, to such logical extremes as in *Family Laws*. As I understand the system, it favors a rendering of the cuneiform characters that aims to be as consistent and as exact etymologically as is reasonably possible. Consequently, where the Nuzians, who did not distinguish between voiced and voiceless stops, gaily confused the ones with the others, the correct spelling should be indicated while the actual mode of writing is shown at the same time by means of a given set of conventions. Otherwise one and the same word would appear in so many wondrous disguises as to baffle utterly the uninitiated. For the same reasons, Hurrian proper names should have their voiceless forms, with but one notable exception.<sup>3</sup> However, some of the sibilants should be exempted from this treatment. When the texts write *sa-ti-ir* for *šatir*,<sup>4</sup> it is evident that Hurrian did not possess the *š*-sound, and that the Akkadian words in which that sound is written correctly owe that honor to historical spelling. Such words, therefore, have been transliterated just as they are found in the texts. The same has been done with words of uncertain or debatable origin, such as *kaška*<sup>5</sup> and *ditennūtu*. The result is

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<sup>3</sup> The exception is the writing of *gi* instead of the otherwise expected *ki*, a procedure entirely too consistent to be due to mere accident or carelessness. The writing obviously represents the palatalized *k*-sound (*č*), for which *GI* was conveniently available. Cf. *Family Laws* 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 1. 31; 2. 31; 3. 36; 8. 25; 17. 34. M. Thureau-Dangin himself kindly suggested this course in a personal communication.

<sup>5</sup> This applies, of course, to the transliterations of the text. In all other



inevitably a certain degree of inconsistency, but the advantage of not prejudicing the case in question will compensate for the loss of uniformity.

In point of fact, the student of Kirkuk texts must put up with much irregularity, especially where grammar is concerned. He must disregard completely his orderly ideas concerning absolute agreement in case and gender. The number of Nuzian scribes who successfully avoided the pitfalls of Akkadian morphology and syntax is conspicuously small. What, for instance, is a helpless editor to do with such phrases as: *ša pí-i tup-pí an-nu-ú*, *ù ša tup-pí la-bi-rum* (7.13)? How is one to get around such lawless formations as *qāt . . . tupšar-rum* (3.36; 5.46; 17.34)? What should he do when the termination is not given, but must be supplied? Is he wilfully to be ungrammatical and follow the local usage? \* Whatever course he may choose, he will do well to warn the reader that correctness and consistency cannot be expected in the texts under consideration.

As is customary, parentheses indicate such reader's aids as numbers of lines, added words in the translation, and so forth, all of which are absent in the texts. Omissions and additions are shown in the usual way. Italics point to uncertainties in the translation; italicized numbers mark the order of documents in the present study, as opposed to the order in *HSS V*. Since the transliterations are equipped with the necessary scientific guides, the appended translations need not duplicate the procedure. Hence the additions are marked only in the transliterations, and the spelling of proper nouns in the translations is conventional; the male determinative has been omitted in the English version, the female

instances I have favored *kaška* in place of the more common *qašqa* because of the evidence of the non-Nuzian sources (see below), *Ka* and *qa* are interchangeable in the Kirkuk texts, the latter being preferred on account of its simpler form.

\* The main trouble is that no consistency in usage can be detected. This is particularly evident when it comes to rendering the Akkadian correspondent of the partitive genitive. Where the phonetic complements are added or where the words are spelled out, we find in such cases both the nominative (10 *SU kaspu šar-pu*, *HSS V*. 62.11) and the accusative (2 *LU damqa qā*). Where the ending had to be supplied, the accusative has been employed.

determinative is a suspended *f*, and “city” is indicated by a suspended *c*.

Following is a table of correspondences between the numbers of the documents in the present study and those of the Harvard volume.

Present article	HSS V	
1 . . . .	91	} TABLETS MARKED AS <i>ṭuppi ditennūti</i>
2 . . . .	89	
3 . . . .	81	
4 . . . .	87	
5 . . . .	83	
6 . . . .	84	
7 . . . .	85	
8 . . . .	88	
9 . . . .	90	
10 . . . .	82	
<hr/>		
11 . . . .	40	} DECLARATIONS AND STATEMENTS WHICH MENTION <i>ditennūtu</i>
12 . . . .	38	
13 . . . .	12	
14 . . . .	18	
15 . . . .	22	
16 . . . .	33	
17 . . . .	41	
18 . . . .	4	
19 . . . .	39	
20 . . . .	86	
<hr/>		
21 . . . .	14	= THE <i>kaška</i> DOCUMENT

I. ANALYSIS OF THE TEXTS

The transactions that bear the novel title of *ṭuppi ditennūti* are well represented in the Kirkuk sources.<sup>7</sup> The present study, as well as HSS V upon which it is based, contains 20 documents which concern *ditennūtu* directly or indirectly. The number is large enough to justify a schematic arrangement of the more complete records, prior to entering into a detailed discussion of their general significance and of the individual clauses which they contain.

<sup>7</sup> In addition to the passages cited in NKRA 131, note 1, and the documents presented in this study, *ditennūtu* or *ditennu* figure in the following hitherto published texts: Nu. II 102, 111, 189, 192; Nu. III 289, 290, 292, 294-297, 299-301, 203-305, 307, 308, 309-311, 315, 318, 319; HSS V. 5. 66; HSS IX. 13, 15, 20, 27, 28, 97-107, 118, and 156.

1. *Tuppi ditennūti ša A: eqla (size and location) ana ditennūti ana x šanāti ana B iddin.*

Document of *ditennūtu* belonging to A: Land (size and location) into *ditennūtu* for x years to B he has given.

2. *Ū B kaspā (ana ditennūti) ana A iddin.*

And B has given to A objects of value (into *ditennūtu*).

3. *Immatimê (enuma) x šanāti imtalû, kaspā A ana B utâr û eqlašu ileqqi.*

When the specified period has been fulfilled, A shall return the goods to B, and his land he shall take back.

4. *Šumma eqlu paqirāna irašši, A uzakkāma.*

If the field has a claimant, A shall clear it.

5. *Šumma eqlu maiāru, lâ ileqqi.*

If the field had been plowed over, (A) shall not take it back.

6. *Šumma eqlu mād, lâ inakkis; šumma šiḫir, û lâ uraddi(a)*

If the field be large, it shall not be curtailed; if it be small, it shall not be increased.

7. *Ina libbi eqli šašu kaška lâ ileqqi (niksa lâ inakkis)*

Out of the midst of that field the *kaška* shall not be removed (the moiety shall not be deducted).

8. *Manummê ina libbi x šanāti ibbalkatu 1 alpa umallā.*

Whosoever within the specified time breaks the agreement, shall furnish one ox.

9. *Tuppu ina arki šūdūti ina X šaṭir.*

The tablet was written after the proclamation in the city X.

Characteristic of our documents are, of course, clauses 1-3, which are indeed always present or implied in the *ditennūtu* texts proper (1-10). New are also the provisions of 5 and 7. Clauses 4, 8, and 9, on the other hand, are known to us from the documents that deal with family laws,<sup>8</sup> and their presence in the *ditennūtu* records is by no means invariable. In all cases minor differences in phraseology are both possible and common. The above schematic arrangement is composite, since all the clauses are rarely found together in one document. Such records as our texts 11-20, which are in the main declarations concerning *ditennūtu*, will naturally contain a smaller number of the customary provisions.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Family Laws* 5 ff.

We are now prepared for a discussion of the individual clauses in the order of their listing.

1. First in line is the superscription "*tuppi ditennūti*." This technical term merits a thorough investigation. The problems at hand are to ascertain the legal position of the institution and to consider the etymological possibilities of the name. The inquiry will be on safer grounds if the two questions are first studied independently.

In each *ditennūtu* transaction two sets of values change hands. A gives to B certain specified fields,<sup>9</sup> or he assigns to him for servitude a member<sup>10</sup> or members of his family, himself,<sup>11</sup> or one or more of his servants.<sup>12</sup> In return B hands over to A a definite capital (*kaspu*), which may consist of gold,<sup>13</sup> bronze,<sup>14</sup> copper,<sup>15</sup> lead,<sup>16</sup> grain,<sup>17</sup> domestic animals,<sup>18</sup> wool,<sup>19</sup> articles of clothing,<sup>20</sup> and the like.<sup>21</sup> The juxtaposition is significant: on the one side we have productive property, on the other a pecuniary counterpart, or in other words, property is balanced by currency.<sup>22</sup> In this manner

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<sup>9</sup> It is noteworthy and, as we shall see, important that buildings as such do not figure in these transactions. Certain lands, however, may contain some buildings, in which case it is so stated (cf. 14. 6).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. document 10.

<sup>11</sup> We have such an instance of self-enslaving in document 11.

<sup>12</sup> For other instances of personal *ditennūtu* cf. NKRA 132, note 1. The same type of security appears prominently in the texts of Nu. III (see above, note 7).

<sup>13</sup> Not in these documents, but in *Gadd* 62.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 2 and 4.

<sup>15</sup> See, e. g., 6 and 7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19.

<sup>17</sup> See 1 and *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. 3, 9, 10, 12, and 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 5 and 10.

<sup>21</sup> Several of the above articles may, of course, be used in a single transaction.

<sup>22</sup> We are dealing here with money in its primitive form as is shown by the frequent mention of metal and, for that matter, of sheep (cf. Lat. *pecunia*). This fundamental distinction between property and currency makes it difficult to follow Koschaker in considering *ditennūtu* as an institution for mutual usufruct (cf. *RORH* 87). Koschaker himself recognizes (*ibidem*) that usufruct applies less well to currency than to real estate and personal security. Different is the situation in the few cases where both parties furnish the services of slaves; it may be that an

A becomes the debtor, B the creditor, and the property of A serves as security, the usufruct of which represents the creditor's compensation. The entire transaction falls thus under the category of mortgages with antichresis.

It is entirely beyond the competence of a philologist to penetrate into the legal niceties of the situation.<sup>23</sup> His comments must be confined only to such surface results as can be obtained from a careful examination and comparison of the existing sources. He remains in control in so far as he is in a position to decide whether the interpretation of the jurist proceeds from correct philological premises.

The *ditennūtu* documents have from the beginning attracted the attention of Cuq and Koschaker. Cuq has expressed<sup>24</sup> and defended<sup>25</sup> the view that *ditennūtu* represents a case of rental whereby the yield of the property involved neutralizes the interest on the capital. To his legal scruples about accepting Cuq's position Koschaker adds a valid philological objection: the phrase "to give into *ditennūtu*" may be used by both parties;<sup>26</sup> would it make sense to say that the debtor has received capital "for rental"? The earlier view of Koschaker himself was that *ditennūtu* represented a redeemable purchase (*Lösungskauf*), whereby the debtor had the right but not the obligation to redeem his property within a specified period of time.<sup>27</sup> In reaching this decision, the eminent Leipzig jurist was influenced to a certain extent by the derivation then current of *ditennūtu* from the verb *tadānu* "to give, sell."<sup>28</sup> Evidence that has since become available caused Koschaker to modify his original views on the subject.<sup>29</sup> A sale would imply transfer of ownership; but such texts as *HSS* V. 56 (*Family Laws* 43 f.) show clearly that the debtor retains ownership with certain conditions. The creditor has also rights of ownership so far as the

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accepted formula has been extended here to cover instances of a different type; for passages and comments cf. *NKRA* 131, note 7.

<sup>23</sup> Koschaker has done this admirably in *RORH* 83 ff. Even though I fail to agree with him on several important issues, I again gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to his works.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal des Savants* 1927, pp. 396-398.

<sup>25</sup> *Études sur le droit Babylonien* 425 f.

<sup>26</sup> *RORH* 84.

<sup>27</sup> *NKRA* 134 f.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem* 131.

<sup>29</sup> *RORH* 84.

usufruct is concerned; we thus arrive at a type of divided ownership.<sup>30</sup>

One element in this case is obvious and beyond dispute: the creditor is in possession of the property involved. Assumption of possession is the basic act of the transaction. Hence no one will disagree with Koschaker when he occasionally equates *ditennūtu* with "Besitzpfand."<sup>31</sup> For his part, the debtor is in possession of the capital in question; this too is essential and undebatable.

We may now turn our attention to the etymology of the term. The derivation of *ditennūtu* is at present admitted to be more difficult than it appeared to earlier investigators. Scheil<sup>32</sup> and Gadd<sup>33</sup> would connect the noun with *tadānu*, a byform of *nadānu* "to give." Koschaker accepted this etymology in *NKRA*, with the somewhat grudging approval of Landsberger, who could not but be aware of the unorthodox and unparalleled formation in this particular instance.<sup>34</sup> The derivation from *tadānu* has never commended itself to me for both semantic and grammatical reasons, and I voiced my doubts on the subject in *Family Laws*.<sup>35</sup> In the meantime, Koschaker has also found the semantic results inadequate.<sup>36</sup> He would now consider *ditennūtu* as a Hurrian word, analogous in formation to the indubitably Hurrian *artartennūtu/ artartentu*, and he would translate it as "usufruct."<sup>37</sup> This represents a step forward, but it is not enough of an improvement. To be sure, the idea of usufruct applies to the majority of cases in which *ditennūtu* and its derivative *ditennu* are used. But it is stressing the point a bit too far to say that the capital as well is given for usufruct.<sup>38</sup> Nor does the idea of usufruct appear to be important enough to be singled out to the exclusion of everything else; it is incidental and taken for granted, which is precisely what happens in similar cuneiform documents outside of the Kirkuk district (Arrapha).

Furthermore, it is practically certain that *ditennūtu* is not a Hurrian word. It is true that the Nuzians had a predilection for

<sup>30</sup> Ibidem 87.

<sup>31</sup> Ibidem 86, note 3. See also note to 9. 35.

<sup>32</sup> *Revue d'Assyriologie* XV, p. 66, note 1.

<sup>33</sup> Gadd 55.

<sup>35</sup> *RORH* 87.

<sup>34</sup> *NKRA* 131, note 4.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>35</sup> P. 12, note 22.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. above, note 22.

abstract formations ending in *-ūtu*; but such formations are overwhelmingly Akkadian in origin.<sup>39</sup> The decisive blow, however, to the Hurrian aspirations of *ditennūtu* is dealt by the phonetics of the case. As has been noted by Koschaker,<sup>40</sup> the spelling of the word varies: the first two syllables may be expressed as *dite-* or *tite-*, in isolated instances also as *tide-*.<sup>41</sup> Now it is known from the study of Hurrian proper names that no distinction was made in that language between voiced and voiceless stops.<sup>42</sup> Such writings as the meaningless GAR.PA<sup>43</sup> for the Sumerian GAR.BA (*qīštu*) show that voicelessness was the rule. When we find the sign *qa* generally confused for *ka*,<sup>44</sup> or *du* for *tu*, no shadings in pronunciation are thereby indicated. The preference for *qa* and the writings with *du* are exclusively due to the fact that these signs are shorter and simpler than *ka* and *tu*. Where there is no functional difference between two possible choices, economy of effort will dictate the easier one. The same cannot be said, however, of *ti* and *di*; as a matter of fact, *ti* is the shorter sign. Hence when we find the writing *dite-* not once or twice, but actually in the majority of cases,<sup>45</sup> this can mean only one thing: the spelling is historical, the word having had originally a *d* for its initial consonant.<sup>46</sup> This in turn rules out the possibility of the Hurrian

<sup>39</sup> In addition to the common *marūtu*, *martūtu*, *abūtu*, *ḥazannūtu*, *aḥūtu*, and *aḥātūtu*, we have *amtūtu* (*HSS* V. 67. 36), *aššūtu* (*HSS* V. 53. 32; 67. 16), *ikkarūtu* (*Nu.* III 318. 5), and the like; on the Hurrian side may be mentioned the well-known *manzatuḥlūtu*, and the above-mentioned *ar-ta-ar-ti-in-nu-ti* (in the genitive, *HSS* V. 36. 4).

<sup>40</sup> *NKRA* 131, note 3.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ti-di-nu-ut-ti*, *Nu.* 318. 4, 8. See also *Gadd* 2. 4, 15.

<sup>42</sup> For the seeming exception in the case of *gi*, see above, note 3. It may be of interest to note that the stops *k*, *q*, *g* are often palatalized in modern Iraqi Arabic before front vowels, probably under Persian influence.

<sup>43</sup> *Nu.* I 29. 14. The Sumerian ideogram cannot, of course, be written phonetically and retain its original meaning. Cf. also *RI.PA.NA* for *RI.BA.NA*, *HSS* V. 75. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Conversely, *gamir* is written *ka-mi-ir*, *HSS* V. 76. 31. The writer knew that the stop (voiced) was in some way different from the usual run (voiceless); but in trying to show off his learning he put down the exact opposite, his ear being dead to such distinctions.

<sup>45</sup> In the texts published so far the initial dental is marked as voiced in 73, as voiceless in 62 instances.

<sup>46</sup> The second dental is voiceless in all but half a dozen cases (cf. note 41), which we may put down to scribal mannerisms; cf. note 44. For that

origin of *ditennu* and *ditennūtu*; the nouns were presumably Akkadian.

Turning now to Akkadian, we find our possibilities mercifully limited. There being no recognized verb *datānu*, we are left with either *dānu* or *danānu* in a reflexive formation. For *dānu* a tolerable case might be made out; but too much would have to be taken for granted.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, *danānu* will be found to work out surprisingly well. The favorite Nuzian ending *-ūtu* added to the infinite of the first reflexive conjugation *ditanunu* yields *ditanunūtu*, which through syncope and vowel reduction before the resulting long consonant becomes *ditennūtu* with comparative ease. To be sure, the simple reflexive of *danānu* is not otherwise documented; but we are dealing here with an entirely new word, and if the intermediate stages are explained there is no valid reason to deny the expression the rights of citizenship.<sup>48</sup>

What then would be the meaning of *ditennūtu*? In this inquiry we shall have, I think, easier sailing. The verb in its simplest form means "to be strong"; the reflexive form would give us something like "to be in power." How do we get from this meaning our required legal concept? A remarkable Hebrew analogon will help point the way. The post-Biblical חֲזָקָה has in its legal application the meaning of "possession,"<sup>49</sup> as against or prior to outright ownership. The semantic development is quite obvious, the intermediate stage being "to have the power over, to lay one's hand on" something. There is no reason for not seeing in *ditennūtu* an exact parallel to the Hebrew term. Moreover, the development of the other Akkadian expressions for "pawn, security" points in the same direction. The most widely used term is *šapartu*, which no lesser an authority than Landsberger

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matter, *di* crops up occasionally in proper names (cf. 7.2 for *ar-di-ir-wi*) where it certainly does not belong. It is through such slips that we gain an insight into the workings of the scribal minds. To be sure, the possibility must not be overruled that the second dental may be emphatic (*ṭ*); but this would be just as fatal to the Hurrian origin of the word.

<sup>47</sup> A reflexive form of *dānu* "to judge" might denote a mutual legal obligation; cf. the frequent clause: "if the property has a claim (*dīna*) against it": The morphology of the word, however, would remain obscure.

<sup>48</sup> The analogy of such a pair of terms as *kidinnu* and *kidinnūtu* may have been an important factor in the formation *ditennu* and *ditennūtu*.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Talmud* 445.



connects with *šapāru*,<sup>50</sup> meaning "to send," then "to direct," and "to have authority." Such a technical phrase for pawning a thing as *ana šiprūti ezēbu*<sup>51</sup> might have very well conveyed originally the sense of "leaving in one's power, possession." Where reference is made to personal pawn the verb *erēbu* is employed; it means "to enter," into the house, hence under the authority, of the owner.<sup>52</sup> The status of those who have thus "entered" is that of complete, even though temporary, servitude. For each day that such an *erubu* (note the analogy to *ditennu*) absents himself from the service of his master he must pay a specified sum as compensation (*urihul*).<sup>53</sup> The repayment of the capital results in the coming out (*uṣṣi*) or freeing (*uštēši*) of the *erubu*. The Hebrew עֲרֻבָּה<sup>54</sup> and the Greek ἀρραβών "pawn, pledge" are developments of the same idea.<sup>55</sup> In all these cases the underlying and fundamental idea for pawn is "being under the authority of the creditor."

To return to our documents after this long digression, it will be readily seen that the meaning "possession" (as distinct from ownership) admirably fits all the cases in which *ditennūtu* and *ditennu* occur.<sup>56</sup> *Ana ditennūti nadānu*, *leqū* is "to give, take into possession"; *ana ditennūti kullu* is "to hold in (for) possession"; *eqlu ditennu* becomes "a field held in possession," and so forth. Most convincing is the fact that this translation suits equally well the instances in which the capital is transferred *ana ditennūti* "into the possession" of the borrower. Similarly *ramāniia ana ditennūti ina bīt ša A . . . uštērib* (11.6 ff.) makes better sense when translated "I have entered myself into possession into the house of A" than "I have entered myself for usufruct." If it is true that the value of a given clue increases with the number of problems

<sup>50</sup> NKRA 96.

<sup>51</sup> Ibidem, note 4.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. San Nicolò, AO IV. 34 f. To postulate two separate Hebrew roots, one with the meaning of "pawning" and the other of "entering, setting (of the sun)," as is done by Gesenius-Buhl and Brown-Briggs-Driver, is therefore unnecessary. Both are cognates of Akkadian *erēbu* "to enter."

<sup>53</sup> A frequent occurrence in the Nuzi texts. In the present documents the term is found in 10.30; 11.17. That *urihul* does not mean "fine" but "upkeep" or "compensation" is proved by Nu. III 273.19.

<sup>54</sup> Prominent in *Genesis* 38, in the story of Judah and Tamar.

<sup>55</sup> As shown by San Nicolò and his predecessors, AO IV. 34 f.

<sup>56</sup> The combinations are listed in RORH 87, note 2.

which it helps to solve, then the meaning which we have found for *ditennūtu* cannot be far wrong. It may perhaps help us to understand what was really essential in the conception of the law of security in ancient Mesopotamia and in the neighboring territories.

2. The kind of capital (*kaspu*) which the debtor receives in exchange for the use of his property was indicated in the preceding section. It was explained that the *kaspu* is likewise given *ana ditennūti*, but that this technical expression is rarely used. The reason is not far to seek; since the money that the creditor hands over is obviously "for possession," a special statement to this effect is not required.

3. In transactions of the *ditennūtu* type the time element is important; hence the period is nearly always specified. In the present documents the variations range from a few months to ten years. The shortest term is still the nearest harvest;<sup>57</sup> then we have all the stages from one to five years,<sup>58</sup> and one case of ten years.<sup>59</sup> Those instances where the time is not stated, the period being apparently indefinite,<sup>60</sup> are with one exception (19) extensions of old contracts. The usual formula runs as follows: "Formerly (*ippananumma*) A gave to B certain lands; and now (*inanna*) A again gives these lands to B, and B gives to A a sum of money. When the capital stated in both the old and the present document has been returned to B, A shall take back his field." The interesting question arises as to the reasons that prompted the creditor to raise the original sum; it is certain, as Koschaker has pointed out, that the creditor need not release the security until his money has been paid. The extension must therefore be advantageous to the creditor. Koschaker tries to indicate this advantage by suggesting that the additional money was never actually paid, but that the second sum merely represents so much increase in the debt; in other words, because the debtor has been unable to meet his original obligation, it shall cost him that much more to free his field if he is ever in position to do so.<sup>61</sup> This ingenious theory has much in its favor. If I fail to accept it, the reason is only that our texts speak quite unambiguously about an actual second payment.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. document 11.

<sup>58</sup> One year in 13, two in 5, three in 1, 2, 4, 6, 10, and 20; four years in 3 and 8, five in 7 and 9.

<sup>59</sup> Document 14.

<sup>60</sup> So in 13 and 15-19. <sup>61</sup> RORH 89 f.

This being the case, we must assume that the creditor found it profitable to increase the original loan. It would follow that the first loan did not represent the full value of the mortgaged property; the addition would thus make up the difference, leaving no doubt an adequate margin in favor of the creditor. By means of such refinancing a mortgage would be virtually converted into a sale. It is very unlikely that the overburdened debtor was in these cases ever expected to redeem his property. The setting of a further time limit became superfluous, and few cared to indulge in such academic speculations.

4. This clause occurs also in sale-adoptions.<sup>62</sup> It provides against eviction on the part of other possible creditors. The provisions are self-explanatory and require no further comment.

5. The credit for the successful elucidation of this clause belongs to Landsberger and Koschaker.<sup>63</sup> The word *maïaru* is known to designate a type of plow; work with the *maïaru* is one of the first steps in cultivating the land. If the debtor should be ready with his payment after the land held as security has been plowed with the *maïaru*, the creditor would be deprived of the benefits of his work if he had to return the land immediately. Consequently, the debtor must not take back his property before the next harvest.

6. This clause, too, is common in sale-adoptions, not to speak of records other than those from Nuzi.<sup>64</sup> In its numerous variations<sup>65</sup> it provides for the acceptance of the measurements as indicated in a given document, even if these should later prove to be inexact.<sup>66</sup> Once the contract is duly certified, its statements must be regarded as final.

7. In the statement about the *kaška* we again have a provision that is peculiar to the *ditennūtu* texts. The debtor must not remove the *kaška* from the field which is in the (temporary) possession of the creditor. This injunction presents considerable difficulties. As stated in these texts, it alludes to some usage for which

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Family Laws* 15, and *NKRA* 55.

<sup>63</sup> *NKRA* 133 f.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. San-Nicolò, *Schlussklauseln* 208.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *Family Laws* 15, note 32.

<sup>66</sup> For the latest variations see *HSS* IX. 19. 16-17, and 20. 22-23: *šumma ina mindati irabbu/i* "if it exceeds in its measurements," and *ibidem* 103. 18: *mišrišūma ukāl* "its (stated) boundary it shall retain."

there seems to be no parallel in the cuneiform literature. Our course is to investigate thoroughly all the passages in which the term occurs. It is precisely for this reason that text 21 has been included in this study, although it does not deal with *ditennūtu*. Apart from these documents the *kaška*-clause is found four times in *HSS IX*.<sup>67</sup>

First we must consider the word itself. It is spelled *ka-aš-ka*,<sup>68</sup> *qa-aš-qa*,<sup>69</sup> *qa-as-qa*,<sup>70</sup> and *qa-sa-qa*,<sup>71</sup> the genitive is *qa-aš-ki*,<sup>72</sup> with suffixes the word becomes *qa-aš-ki-ia*,<sup>73</sup> and twice we meet the puzzling form *qa-aš-gi-ni-wa*.<sup>74</sup> These inconsistencies signify more than the customary Nuzian carelessness in rendering the stops, as may be seen from the interchange of *sa* and *as*; they indicate that the term—probably imported from outside<sup>75</sup>—was too technical and restricted in usage to have acquired a uniform representation in writing.

What meaning can be assigned to *kaška* from the context? We know that it denotes something on the pawned field which must not be removed by the debtor. It cannot represent the entire crop since the *ditennūtu* transaction would be meaningless in that case. For it is evident that unless the clause was included in the contract, the creditor had no claim to the *kaška*; what would have been his compensation for the loan if he had no obvious right to the usufruct of the security? The term must therefore apply to some part of the whole. Was it the as yet unharvested grain, the yield from what had been sown before the transaction was arranged? This possibility is ruled out by the fact that *kaška* is used also in cases of extension of the *ditennūtu*; even though the creditor has had the field in his possession for a number of years, the clause is

<sup>67</sup> 98. 31 f.; 103. 24; 105. 46 f.; and 106. 25.

<sup>68</sup> 7. 31; 20. 16.

<sup>69</sup> 2. 26; 12. 12; *HSS IX*. 98. 31; 103. 24; 106. 26.

<sup>70</sup> 3. 20.

<sup>71</sup> 1. 25.

<sup>72</sup> 21. 4, 7, and case.

<sup>73</sup> 21. 10.

<sup>74</sup> 14. 28; *HSS IX*. 105. 46. Cf. note 85.

<sup>75</sup> In spite of the sporadic occurrence of this term in non-Nuzian cuneiform literature (see Meissner, *AfO* V. 184, and cf. below for the connection with our sources) the word is hardly Sumerian or Akkadian. The ending *ni-wa* tends to assign it to the Hurrian group.

repeated when the contract is renewed.<sup>76</sup> Here the debtor could have nothing to do with the last sowing.

How is the *kaška* obtained? The verb that usually describes the process is the non-committal *leqû* "to take, remove." We have, however, in these documents two instructive variations of the *kaška*-clause. In 33. 36 f. and in 87. 23 f. we read: *i-na lib-bi (ištu) eqli (šāšu) ni-ik-sà la i-na-ak-ki-sú (-is)* "from the midst of that field no cut shall be made." This statement cannot refer to the *ma'd-šihir* clause (no. 4), in which *nakāsu* also figures, because the phrasing is different; besides, HSS IX.101.36 has *i-na libbi eqli an-ni-i ni-ik-sà la i-na-ak-ki-is ù la i-liq-qì* in addition to the other clause. Thus *kaška* is definitely something that can be "cut."

We must now discuss a troublesome document (21) of which the *kaška* is the main subject as is indicated in the superscription (*tup-pu . . . ša eqli qa-āš-ki*). A has held one imer of land *a-na qa-āš-ki*; now B, the owner, releases that land outright to A, and receives in full payment therefor one imer of grain and three minas of wool. Instead of merely being in possession of the *kaška* rights, A is now the full owner. The price paid is a fraction of what one imer of land usually brought.<sup>77</sup>

It follows from the preceding that the rights to the *kaška* are something apart from the rights to the land in question and to the bulk of its crop. They must be contracted for separately, or else the clause would not have been necessary. In other words, the debtor retains the rights to his *kaška*, unless otherwise stated. This much can be deduced from the context without reference to the actual connotation of the word.

When we look for the meaning of *kaška* we shall find an agreeable surprise in store for us. In the Amarna texts, 244. 14, we find *ka-si-ga ba-qa-ni*, which is explained by the West-Semitic gloss *ka-[z]i-ra*. Meissner<sup>78</sup> has shown that this *kasiga* is a synonym

<sup>76</sup> Cf. 14. 27 f.

<sup>77</sup> For his *kaška* B receives one imer of barley and three minas of wool. As against this, five aweharu (one half of an imer) of land bring in text 17 two imers and two measures of barley, one measure of wool and thirty shekels of lead; for one imer and one aweharu of land the debtor receives in 1 four imers of barley, one imer of wheat, and five imers of wool (which does not represent the full value in documents of this type). Cf. also document 9.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. note 75.

of *ba-qa-ni*, which corresponds to the normal Akkadian *baqāmu* "to pluck," as applied to wool. The gloss goes back, then, to Canaanite *qaṣar(a)* "he cut, harvested." I need hardly point out how well this accords with our above conclusions.

Having found so remarkable a parallel in meaning, the way has been paved for the discovery of an even more surprising analogy in usage. The Bible prohibits the cutting of the *pe'ah*<sup>79</sup> of the field at harvest time. The word is translated as "corner, edge," the meaning of the phrase being that the grain growing on the edge of the field should be left for the poor. Since disputes were inevitable as to what and how much constituted a "corner," the Mishnic tractate *Pe'ah* takes up the subject in detail. The elaborate discussion<sup>80</sup> merely tends to show that the custom as a whole was not well defined, and that its beginnings and original meaning were obscure.

It will be well to remember that Hebrew פֶּאֵה goes back to a root meaning "to split, cut."<sup>81</sup> Our *niksa inakkis* would thus correspond exactly to פֶּאֵה וְקֵצֶר. The agreement is much too complete to be merely accidental; the probability of a common origin of both the Hurrian and the Biblical usage cannot now be disregarded.<sup>82</sup> The background may be reconstructed as follows: The first cutting of the crop, covering a definite proportion of the whole, was to be laid aside. This proportion was probably earmarked for religious purposes; in course of time it acquired an independent status which was not affected when the field changed owners.<sup>83</sup> This status persisted even after the institution of which it was an outgrowth was modified to suit the changing religious and social conditions. In their new applications, the *kaška* and the *pe'ah* came to be of benefit and protection to the poor. The

<sup>79</sup> Lev. 19. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. the article of Lauterbach in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* IX. 568 f.

<sup>81</sup> See Gesenius-Buhl and Brown-Briggs-Driver, ad loc.

<sup>82</sup> Especially in view of such amazing correspondences between Hurrian and Biblical usage as are shown in the case of the Hebrew *ṭerāphim* and the Nuzian *ilāni*; cf. *Genesis* 31 and the remarks of Sidney Smith in *Gadd* 127.

<sup>83</sup> The Code of Hammurabi shows the extent to which the law went in protecting the person who was forced to pawn his field. In these circumstances the retention of the *kaška*-rights by the debtor is perfectly natural.

wretched Nuzian who was forced to pawn his field had a right to make a separate deal for the *kaška*; <sup>84</sup> subsequently the *pe'ah* becomes in Biblical law the property of all the needy in the community.

In selecting an English equivalent for *kaška* <sup>85</sup> I have decided upon "moiety." There appears to be no single term that conveys the idea of "cutting off something and taking it away." In the sense that moiety is applied at present in Anglo-American law, <sup>86</sup> the word describes at least a part from a larger whole, which is quite satisfactory for our present purposes.

8-9. With these two clauses we are back on safe and well-trodden grounds. The provisions are discussed in *Family Laws*, p. 12, and there is no need for further comments. The fine of "one ox" is typical of the majority of the *ditennūtu* texts. The meaning of *šūdūtu* has been brilliantly explained by Landsberger and Koschaker.<sup>87</sup> It signifies "proclamation," which precedes

<sup>84</sup> The *kaška* need not have remained in all instances with the creditor. In point of fact, it may be assumed that, where the clause is not included, the *kaška* went to the debtor. This view receives partial confirmation from *Gadd* 43. 15: A (the creditor) *ša egli qa-aq-qa-as-sū ū-qa-al-la-ma a-na M. (the debtor) ū-ma-aš-ša-ar*. Landsberger brilliantly connects the first verb with *galābu* "to shear" (*NKRA* 132). Koschaker (*ibidem*) translates: "A shall shear the head of the field and leave it (i. e., the field) to M." Akkadian usage favors, however, another interpretation: what is to be left to M is not the field but the shorn part. "The shearing of the head" refers probably to the removal of the *kaška*; moreover, the picturesque phrase becomes easily intelligible when it is considered as a paraphrase of the *kaška* clause, which provides in this case for the return of the "plucked" grain to the debtor. The analogy of the Biblical cutting of the *pe'ah* becomes even more striking in this light. The "shearing of the head" would then correspond to the stripping of the first fruits of the crop. In the sense of "stripping" (robbing) a house *galābu* is found in *Nu. II* 125. 3, 16.

<sup>85</sup> The endings *ni-wa* in *ka-aš-gi-ni-wa* (14. 28; *HSS* IX. 105. 46) are doubtless Hurrian. Both have approximately the same value as may be seen from a comparison of *a-na na-aš-ni*, *Nu. II* 156. 15, and *a-na na-aš-wa*, *ibidem* 159. 8. With *kašgi* they are both found together.

<sup>86</sup> I owe this suggestion to Professor David Werner Amram whom I had the privilege to consult about the numerous legal problems contained in these texts.

<sup>87</sup> *NKRA* 77 f.

the final release of the property in question, as was shown in "Family Laws," loc. cit. That this was actually so is now proved by *HHS IX. 102. 30 ff.*: *ṣup-tu ina arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti i-na arki<sup>ki</sup> an-du-ra-ri i-na ʿNu-zi sa-ti-ir* "the tablet was written after the proclamation (and) after the release in ʿNuzi."

We may now give our attention to the individual texts, which are presented in transliteration, translation, and with brief philological notes.

*(To be concluded.)*



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy.* By CHARLES CUTLER TORREY. Yale Oriental Series. Researches, Volume XVIII. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1930.

That the book of Ezekiel is a pseudepigraph, based on and actually an enlargement of 2 Kings 21:2-16, dated in the thirtieth year of Manasseh, but written in Jerusalem about 230 B. C. as a rebuke to the sins of the writer's generation; and that a few years later this Pseudo-Ezekiel was thoroughly edited by a Jerusalem priest, who by substituting the present dates for the original ones, and by the addition of a few geographical and historical phrases put the whole book into the mouth of a prophet in Babylonia in the time of the exile and thus made it a telling witness for the largely imaginary theory of a Babylonian exile and return and for the prestige of Jerusalem as against the claims of the Samaritans—such are the conclusions of this volume. Such conclusions, all in line with the author's previous publications, are revolutionary. Every page of the book bristles with problems and stimulates inquiry. Among the questions, four that are primary are briefly considered in the following paragraphs.

(1). Is Ezekiel the product of a third century B. C. writer? Dr. Torrey finds all the year dates, save the difficult *thirtieth year*, the work of a Babylonian redactor, and hence untrustworthy. It has often been recognized that this chronological scheme is not beyond suspicion. It is artificial, "eine schriftstellerische Manipulation" according to Smend (*Ezechiel* xxi.), frequently loosely connected with content, and in 8:1, the 6th month of the Hebrew, or the 5th month found in the LXX., is in disagreement with the wailing for Tammuz, 8:15, which took place in the 4th month. Thus the present dates, even the months and days that Torrey seeks to preserve, are probably all scribal and can be accepted, if at all, only after the most careful scrutiny.

In support of the late date it is argued that idolatry such as is attacked in the book could not have existed in Jerusalem after the reform of 621 B. C., at the time indicated by the present dates. Such a conclusion, however, disregards the well-known course of

history in general and in particular. No official reform ever was completely effective, even in its inception. Human nature has always reacted as 2 Kings 23:9 suggests that the officials of the high-places did, after that date (cf. Deut. 18:6-8), for which difficulty 44:10-14 seems to have made provision. Further, many changes had taken place in the interim between 621 and 592 B. C. With national subjection to Egypt in 608, to Babylonia in 604, and the fall of the city in 597, the reform of Josiah was over and over again officially nullified and an insurgence of paganism as well as a recognition of foreign gods must have swept the country. Even though we had no such attack as that found in Ezekiel, we could scarcely avoid assuming that by 592 Tophet would be rebuilt and foreign cults would be established in the temple. National history had failed to show that Jehovah was interested in the reformer or in his reforms. To this argument for the late date is added that of the abundant Aramaisms and the degenerate Hebrew, which is much less weighty than that of Ezekiel's relation to other Hebrew literature. The splendid work of Millar Burrows in "The Literary Relations of Ezekiel," in part presents the background of this argument. Burrows very cautiously concludes that Ezekiel, if a literary unit, was written later than . . . "Hg., Zc., Ob., and Is. 13; 23; 34; 35; 40-55; 56-66, perhaps later than Joel and the Aramaic part of Daniel, and Zech. 9:11-11:3, but probably before the rest of Zech. 9-14 and the late additions to Jo., and quite certainly before Sirach and the Hebrew book of Daniel" (p. 103). No better illustration of the painstaking work of Burrows and the sanity of his decisions can be found than in his comparison of Isaiah 13:14 with Ezekiel (pp. 39-44). Here his conclusion is "that unless we posit the circulation in various forms of the proverb in Is. 14:2, the probability is that Ezekiel knew Is. 13:2-14:23." This, in its cautiousness, is in keeping with his final conclusion that if Ezekiel is a literary unit, it is probably later than 240 B. C. (p. 102). At best, however, the decision of literary dependence is always precarious, controlled in a measure by subjective elements, and apart from converging lines of evidence, can rarely be considered final. The above is a case in point, and the relation between the passages considered would seem to be as adequately explained by similarity of habitat, as by literary borrowing.

But Burrows' study of the relation of Ezekiel to P. is much less

convincing (pp. 47-68). Most of the comparisons made on pp. 49-52, seem to the reviewer very definitely to suggest the priority of Ezekiel. Words and phrases as, *מלח*, *מחכה*, *קרח*, *עגיל*, *קרח*, *קרח* in Ezekiel refer to secular things, while in P. they have a ritual significance. This at least indicates lateness for P. Other material, omitted by Burrows for lack of space, such as the significant words, *אשם*, *קרבן*, *חטאת*, *מנחה*, as well as numerous features such as the relation of the numeral to the noun, the priest's possible marriage to the widow, and others, all point in the same direction.

In the study of the Zadokites and the Levites in Ezk. 44:6-16, while, as Burrows suggests, an interpretation other than the usual one is not impossible, the most natural one, history and legislation both considered, would seem to place this Ezekiel passage somewhere midway between D. and P. Two questions of a general type make the late date suspicious. Is it likely that a writer in 230 B. C., would produce a work of this size that so completely lacks the coloring of his own time? In vain do we scan the pages for a sure trace of Greek cultural influence. And the still more serious problem, why the startling accuracy for the history of a period three and a half centuries in the rear, while the history of events close at hand, if there is any, is so vaguely veiled as to deceive, if possible, the very elect? Surely this is a failure that damages the claims of the late date. The whole weight of the evidence would seem to make 230 B. C. untenable as the time of writing the original Ezekiel.

(2). Was the original Ezekiel a pseudepigraph, is the second question. Clearly, not only has it the appearance of such, but such an hypothesis saves a deal of trouble. This would be an excellent explanation of the theophanies, the use of symbols, the many very weird features in its pages as well as of the singularly detailed predictions of the volume. A healthy pseudepigraphist, using a well-known literary method of history-writing and of presenting truth, is to be preferred to either patient for the psychopathic ward of a hospital or a furtive interpolator. That one fact alone, however, scarcely settles the question. As a pseudepigraph has the book been woven around 2 Kings 21:2-16? That a relation exists between the two scriptures, no one can doubt. But Ezekiel, a well ordered book, is not the orderly development of the themes

in Kings, nor is its horizon limited by that of Kings. Even the interesting מְלִיכָה found in Kings, and almost a central idea in Ezekiel, would seem to be a Deuteronomic inheritance of both rather than a sign of dependence.

A further argument for the pseudepigraphic character of the book is found in the startling predictions in Ezekiel. Passages such as 5:2, 13; 12:5, 6; 21:23-28; 24:15-18; 11:13, have been either the delight or the despair of the exegete. They are the writing of history after the event, and to a later generation proved the inspiration of the prophet by the tests of their time and created confidence in the hearts of the fearful (Torrey, pp. 13, 14, 71-83). Good! this will save us from the acrobatic exegesis sometimes practised. But even here the course does not run smoothly. That a writer at any time after 570 B. C., but especially one in 230 B. C., when the prosperity of Tyre was second only to that of Alexandria, should have put oracles such as 26:3-6, 11-14, 17-21; 27:25-36; 28:17-19, into the mouth of a seventh century prophet, is at least improbable. This was neither writing history before the event nor proving prophetic inspiration by the power of prediction. But that such an one should write 29:17-26, is quite inexplicable. On the other hand, that a prophet of the sixth century, who had no gift of clairvoyancy should write cc. 26-28, and that he, never dreaming that foretelling coming events had any vital consequence, should at a later date, append 29:17-26 as a note of historical interest, is not only credible, but is a good witness for authenticity. Nor are the difficulties for Torrey's theory less when the Egyptian oracles are considered (cc. 29-32). Vaticinium post eventum fails to explain much in these chapters. The "forty years of desolation" (29:12), like much else, does not fit into the history of the Chaldeans, the Persians, much less that of the Ptolemies. Surely this is the fervid rhetoric of the prophet who hoped that what ought to happen would happen. From Pseudo-Ezekiel we might also have expected some glimpse of the Assyrian régime from 633 B. C. on, and some oracle indicating the decline and fall of Babylon. Glaring omissions like these are slight guarantee for the alertness of the hypothetical third century writer.

(3). Our next question is: Was the original book written in Jerusalem? Torrey insists that the author is speaking to the men of the house of Israel, to the house of Judah, to the dwellers in

Jerusalem, and not to exiles in Babylon (pp. 24-44). This fact, so evident in so many of the discourses, usually receives scant notice. If this view be not accepted, only two possibilities remain. Either there are large interpolations in the original book—which would destroy its unity—or the writer, though in Babylonia, considered the captivity, in whatever part of the world, only a passing phase of national life, and thought and talked of the people, at home and abroad, in terms of Israel and Judah, with Jerusalem as their permanent habitat. This latter, the most general interpretation, is most difficult if not impossible. Some of the messages, surely had a direct relation to Jerusalem (cc. 4-9, cf. Torrey p. 29).

But the assertion that, beyond a few excised notes, there is in the book no definitely Babylonian background, is not conclusive. Not only do features of the storm scene coming from the north fit better into the experience of one in the great plain than on the Palestinian hills, but all the elements of the composite colossi of c. 1 were at hand in Babylon, and the well-ordered New Jerusalem with its spacious boulevards, rectangular walls, symmetrical temple, and lofty altar, all seems remote from the tortuous Palestinian contours, and at least as much at home in the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar as in any other conceivable time and place. Also Nar Kabari (1:1, etc.) in the light of archaeology, can be more easily accepted as the work of a sixth century prophet, referring to a definite locality, than as the astonishing conjecture of a third century B. C. Palestinian scribe. Also a Babylonian provenance for the Aramaisms is not untenable, particularly when considered in conjunction with the Assyrian and Sumerian influences in the Ezekelian vocabulary (cf. *AJSL* 34. 133; *ZA* 28. 333-336). Hence it seems that not only is there a Palestinian element in Ezekiel, but the Babylonian coloring is so large as to make necessary the retention of the excised phrases, and seems to suggest a considerable Babylonian work.

(4). The remaining question is, did a pro-Jerusalem, anti-Samaritan scribe rework the original prophecy? The activity ascribed to this propagandist would have consisted in changing the original year dates, 30, 31, 32, and 35 to 5, 6, etc., of the year of the captivity, and in adding a few significant phrases with definite Babylonian coloring. That the crux of the canonical problems concerning the book of Ezekiel did not lie in the antagonisms or the

implications found in the dates in the present text, has been fully investigated by Spiegel (*Harv. Theol. Jour.*, Oct. 1931, pp. 256-265). Beyond this objection to the theory of Torrey are others of a general type. Why did an alert editor, whose very success depended on the drastic revision of dates, fail to remove the troublesome *thirtieth year* of 1:1? Surely murder will out! Yet it is still more amazing that an editor who wished to establish the supremacy of Jerusalem and Judah as against the claims of Samaria, should choose for his purpose a book such as Ezekiel. Even as it now stands, reworked, as the theory claims, by an anti-Samaritan, it comes dangerously near supporting the Samaritan traditions (cf. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, pp. 11, 12, 14, 15, 138; Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 72, 187, 238). In its Sadducaean tendencies it is ally to the Samaritans, its tribal redistribution has similarities to that in the Samaritan Joshua, and the New Jerusalem is not to be on the old site, but lies farther north, nearer to, if not actually on Gerizim. Not only so, but Samaria is explicitly declared to have been better than Judah (23:11, 14; 16:51-63), and both are to be united in the future Messianic kingdom (37:15-18). How could so astute a propagandist as the one suggested have blundered so hopelessly?

Notwithstanding, or perhaps better, because of the numerous questions raised by Pseudo-Ezekiel, this volume is an important introduction to the study of the prophet. The author has made impossible the easy-going exegesis of the past. It may be that pseudepigraphy, unity, and late date, may not be accepted finally for the book. But the traditional dates will not go unquestioned, the foretelling of future events will scarcely rank among the assets of Ezekiel, catalepsy will scarcely figure as an adequate explanation for the prophecy, nor will the whole book be considered a message to Jewish captives in Babylon. Whatever may be the critical conclusions, the moral and religious values of the book, so emphatically asserted by Professor Torrey, will remain unimpaired.

I. G. MATTHEWS.

Crozer Theological Seminary.

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*Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament; Part I: Genesis-II Samuel.* Edited by MARTIN SPREGLING and WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, volume XIII.) Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1931.

The Storehouse of Mysteries or Scholia on the Old and the New Testament by Barhebraeus (1226-1286) is one of the most important works in Syriac literature. It is a mine of information for the philologist, the grammarian, the textual critic, the theologian, and the philosopher. Parts of it have already been edited, translated and commented upon by different authors; see the list in Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn, 1922, p. 314. Some of these publications are now not easily accessible; hence scholars will welcome this splendid volume from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. It contains the Syriac text of the Scholia on Genesis-II Samuel with a complete critical apparatus and an excellent English translation. As an appendix (pp. 359-378) are given interesting marginal notes from three of the manuscripts utilized: MS 5 (Brit. Mus. Add. 21580), MS 12 (Göttingen Or. 18a), and MS 19 (Birmingham, Mingana 470). These notes are derived chiefly from the commentaries of Bar Šalibi (+ 1171) and are of great value for the history of biblical interpretation among the Syrians. Two very useful indices, one of incidental Scripture references and the other of proper names, complete the volume.

The editors are to be congratulated on their method of publication. Their decision to publish a photographic reproduction of the text is a happy one. This alone is a distinct contribution to Syriac paleography and will be very helpful to students who ought to be trained, as early as possible, to read texts from the manuscripts themselves. The text reproduced here is that of the famous Florence Codex, Medicean Lib. 230, which is considered the oldest and best manuscript, having been written in 1272 during the lifetime of Barhebraeus. The critical apparatus gives the variants from 19 other manuscripts. This method is much better than that of presenting a made up or factitious text, for it enables the reader to establish the text to suit his own purposes.

The English translation is very well done. Naturally, in a work

of such length, absolute perfection cannot be expected and some inaccuracies are bound to occur. We have noticed a few passages where the renderings may be slightly modified and emended, and hence we propose the following corrections. P. 4, l. 28: *lā m<sup>e</sup>farr<sup>e</sup>shā*: "indistinct" rather than "unarranged." P. 28, l. 8: translate: "deriding him for having accepted the *counsel* (*melkeh*) of the Evil One." P. 62, l. 1: Read *mawsef*, not *mawsaf*, and render: "Greek *adds*: Saying, From my father." This is the reading of the LXX: λέγουσα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μου, which is an addition to the Hebrew. P. 88, l. 2: read *'ezdabbān*, "he was sold," for the pointing indicates the *ethpaal*. P. 170, l. 6: read: "type of the grave which in the *final* (') *h<sup>r</sup>āytā* resurrection wells forth bodies." P. 224, l. 34: read: "And all these sayings *shall come upon you*." P. 236, l. 2: "This command clearly rebukes the *hārōqē* (*determinists*?) and the fatalists." P. 240, l. 3: read: "Lest . . . thy brother should be made *contemptible* before thy eyes (*nethq<sup>e</sup>lē*)." P. 264, l. 16: Read: "Why hast thou *troubled* us? The Lord shall *trouble* thee this day." P. 280, ll. 28, 38: The noun *m<sup>e</sup>vad<sup>e</sup>qānā* seems to mean "interpreter" or "prophet" rather than "lawgiver." P. 320, l. 26: *'dm' šfr*; translate: "Until morning," reading *šufrā*, not *šepparā*, if indeed, as seems to be the case, the vowel sign for *e* belong not to *šfr* but to the word immediately above it in the preceding line. P. 326, l. 14: *m<sup>e</sup>š<sup>t</sup>add<sup>e</sup>jānē*: "deluders" or "deceivers." *Ma*(')*kk<sup>e</sup>yānē*: "the noxious ones," noun derived from the participle Afel of *n<sup>e</sup>khā*; it is also written *makk<sup>e</sup>yānā*, without the silent Alaf as on p. 324, l. 25. P. 342, l. 2: read: *lā m<sup>e</sup>hābbel*, "he (God) does not destroy."

But these are only minor imperfections which do not detract from the great scientific value of this beautiful volume. We hope that the editors will soon give us, not only the rest of the Scholia on the Old Testament, but those on the New Testament as well. The publication of the entire Scholia of Barhebraeus will fill a long felt want; it is indeed absolutely necessary for a critical edition of the Peshitta.

A. VASCHALDE.

Catholic University of America.



*The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament.* Vol. I: *Facsimile with Introduction* by EDGAR J. GOODSPEED. Pp. 56 and 124 color facsimiles. Vol. II: *The Text.* By DONALD W. RIDDLE. Pp. 222. Vol. III: *The Miniatures.* By HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY. Pp. 580 (125 plates). Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1932. Price \$50.

In the first volume the color reproductions of the 90 beautiful miniatures will interest all scholars and book-lovers. A thorough study of these with reproduction of many parallels is given in volume III. This brief review must be restricted to volume II, which is of especial interest to Biblical scholars. In this there is a complete palaeographical and historical study of the MS and an excellent investigation of the text problems involved.

The MS contains all of the New Testament except the Apocalypse. It was in all probability written and illuminated in Constantinople in the scriptorium of Michael Palaeologus about 1270.

The text of the Gospels is shown by sufficient examples to have an extensive Caesarean element, which is mixed with another old text of the Syrian type called K<sup>a</sup> by von Soden. The examples suggest that the Caesarean text was the original base, which was corrected to the K<sup>a</sup> type. Similar careful studies of other MSS having a mixed Caesarean text are an urgent need.

The text of Acts and the Catholic Epistles is of little interest. It is of the common Syrian type. The text of the Pauline Epistles is the best in the MS. The editor calls it "neutral" but he shows that it has affiliation also with the Western MSS, DEFG, and especially with the minuscule 330. This makes the MS of high interest textually and Professor Riddle's study of it is most satisfactory in its thoroughness and in the results obtained.

In so excellent a work it is hypercritical to point out minor slips yet I must note that the apology on p. 127, l. 24 for possible incompleteness in citing the variants of MS 700 was warranted. A cursory comparison of the accurate collation by H. C. Hoskier, London, 1890, shows the following additions and corrections to the list on pages 130 to 134:

Mark, 1. 39, εἰς for ἐν (not in 700) — 2. 1, tr. εἰσῆλθε πάλιν c. Θ, fam. 1, fam. 13 (add 700, εἰσελθων πάλιν) — 2. 9 tr. ἄρον τὸν κράββατόν σου (700 omits ἄρον m. 1, adds in marg. m. 2) — 5. 28, after γάρ add ἐν ἐαυτῇ (but 700 reads λέγουσα ἐν ἐαυτῇ) —

7. 26, 700 reads *συρφοινίκωσα* for *συρφοινίκωσα* — 12. 5, 700 reads *ἀποκτείνοντες* — 12. 35, 700 omits τῷ (1), (2) — 13. 11, 700 reads *ἀγούσιν* — 14. 35, 700 reads *προσελθὼν* — 14. 46, 700 agrees with fam. 1.

On p. 135 add the following: 5.16, 700 reads *διηγήσαντο δὲ* — 9.35, add to 700 the following witnesses: 13 (teste Abbott), 28, and others.

HENRY A. SANDERS.

University of Michigan.

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*Ten Coptic Legal Texts.* Edited with Translation, Commentary, and Indexes, together with an Introduction, by A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, M. A., J. D. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Department of Egyptian Art, Edited by LUDLOW BULL, Ph. D., Associate Curator). New York, 1932. Pp. xiii + 103, with seven plates.

Professor Schiller's work is necessarily of importance to American scholarship, since he stands alone in this country in his devotion to a much-neglected branch of the history of ancient and mediaeval civilizations. Coptic literature has been, by reason of its theological bias, the object of much sound scholarly labor. Coptic law has not been so fortunate, although its value has been repeatedly stressed by a notable European authority in Roman law, L. Wenger, and more recently by Professor Schiller himself (*The Juridical Review*, XLIII, 211 ff.; *Kritische Vierteljahresschrift*, XXV, 250 ff.). The latter's plea for a greater interest in Coptic law is cogent. Egypt was destined by its situation and fertility to be an eternal victim of foreign aggression. The mighty empires of antiquity were felt to be incomplete until they had subjugated, each in turn, Egypt, the granary of the Mediterranean. In this century-long struggle for supremacy, Egyptian law, like Egyptian religion and custom, was never exterminated; but it was enveloped in successive layers of foreign legal thought and practice. The jurist can hardly remain apathetic in the face of Professor Schiller's statement that "ancient Egyptian, Greek, Hellenistic, Ptolemaic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab elements are possible in Coptic law." To adopt a bold figure, Egypt offers him the spectacle of a completed experiment in the problem

of survivals with control of the elements of space and time, and with Coptic law as the climax of the experiment. Obviously the scholar in comparative law will gain considerably by acquiring the philological equipment necessary to unlock these sources. But the study of Coptic law will seem to have an even greater attraction for the legal scholar whose mind is oriented in the new paths which do not stop with the classic monuments of Roman law. Professor Schiller, evidently following Rabel and Steinwenter (*Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Oberägypten*, in Wessely's *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, XIX, 2), recognizes the ultimate possibility of influences emanating from Coptic law and affecting, via Constantinople and Ravenna, the forms of Germanic legal instruments.

A limitation resting upon the student of Coptic law, to which Professor Schiller calls attention for the first time, is important in this connection, since it helps to explain the paucity of special studies in this field. The material with which the scholar in Coptic law works consists almost entirely of private documents, from which he deduces the principles of law. While "Coptic law is perhaps unique in what may be considered forcing the attention upon law-in-action", the conditions of the experience will attract only the boldest spirits and best minds. Equally important to jurist, historian, and economist is the contribution which Coptic legal studies will eventually make to a reconstruction of the life of the Copts in the four centuries after the expulsion of the Roman provincial government from Egypt.

In the book under review the editor brings a fresh supply of that source material on which the evaluation of Coptic law depends. Nine of the texts are documents on papyrus: three deeds of sale, two releases, one receipt, one petition for furlough, one discharge after adjudication, and one communal agreement. No. 10 is an acknowledgment of debt inscribed on leather. All belong to the eighth century except two, which are earlier. Each of the documents is translated, annotated, and provided with an introduction. The texts are preceded by complete and accurate bibliography, admirably arranged, and followed by indices covering the usual subjects. The book has been executed in the usual good taste of the Metropolitan Museum and the Cambridge University Press.

Comparison of the texts with the plates (which cover the first

four documents) reveals great accuracy in the reading, with only occasional and minor lapses. Taking one document (No. 2) of thirty-one lines, we note: Line 4, read: **ΑΙΡ20[ΤΕ]**; line 10, read: **ΜΜΟΟΥ**; line 11, read: **ΚΑΙΡΟΥ**; line 12, read: **ΕΧΡΩΝΟΥ**; line 15, read: **ΝΟΒΡΙCΟΝ**; line 17, read: **ΠΕΤΕΟΥΝΤΗCΘ ΤΗΡC**; line 24, read: **ΠΖΗΡ**, seemingly corrected from **ΠΧΗΡ**; line 30, read: **ΜΝΤΤΡΕ** (though form is wrong). Misprints are rare. The only serious one noticed is, page 20, lines 25, 36, 44, 46: **ΤΥΧΗ** for **†ΥΧΗ**.

Unfortunately the translation contains numerous and serious errors. It would be impossible to list these within the limits of the present review. To take two which affect directly the legal interpretation: No. 10, lines 13 ff.: **ΕΙΤΜΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΟΥ ΝΑΚ** should be translated: "If I do not repay them to you", not "I shall not repay them to you". This misunderstanding of a Coptic form (Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik*, § 482) leads to the creation of a fictitious legal situation, which the editor attempts to solve in his article in the *Juridical Review*, p. 237. No. 6, lines 15 ff.: **ΑΛΛΑ ΑΝΧΟΟC ΧΕ ΟΥΕΥΛΟΓΟΝ ΠΕ ΤΑΡΕΝΔΟ ΕΝCΥΝΕΛΘΕ ΜΝΝΕΝΕΡΗΥ ΕΛΛΑΥ ΝΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΕΥΝΗΥ ΕΧΩΝ** should be translated: "But we said that it is a reasonable thing for us to continue to coöperate with one another for any duties incumbent upon us", not "accordingly we said that a list is to be made, that we declare we made among ourselves, for all duties placed upon us." By no conceivable means can the Coptic be made to yield any such sense. The list which the editor mentions in his introduction has its existence only in a mistranslation. There is therefore no indication that the agreement of the seventeen members binds the whole community. Hence the agreement is not communal, but concerns only the immediate signers. From the foregoing examples alone it would appear that the editor does not continue to work with the Coptic originals after he has once translated them. He thereby loses the chance of revising his translations as his study proceeds. Page 21 is especially marked with mistranslations. Lines 25 ff.: **ΝCΕΤΑΑΥ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΑΤΑ†ΥΧΗ ΝΤΑΛΛΑΠΩΡΟC ΖΑΤΜΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΤΒ ΕΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ ΜΠΟΥΩΘ ΕΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΤΟΟ†** means: "and that they give them as charity for my miserable soul before the Lord God who

exceeds all. They did not wish ( $\overline{\text{M}}\text{ΠΟΥΟΥΩΩ}$  is intended) to take them from me," not "and give them as dispensation for my miserable soul, so that the Lord God should not overlook any of my wishes. Taking them from me" etc. Lines 30 ff.:  $\text{AYW NTPE NNOD NPOME NAEIOTE KATA PNOYTE APA ICAAK MNAHA PAHAC EYAY EPHAHPHE XE AQKATAΦPONEI MPESCHEMA AYW MPECEΩDM- DOM EZAPEZ ENNTOLH NNENEIOTE ETOYAAAB AYNOXQ EBOL AQBOK NAQ}$  means: "And when the elders, my spiritual fathers . . . saw (ms. has  $\text{NAY}$ , with  $\epsilon$  corrected to  $\text{N}$ , not  $\text{EYAY}$ , which is meaningless) that my son despised the monkish habit and was unable to keep the commands of our holy fathers, they expelled him and he went away", not "When, however, the great men, our spiritual fathers . . . died, my son thought little of this life and was unable to keep the orders of our holy fathers. They sent him away. He went" etc. In this case at least the editor has drifted with his translation. Such passages might be multiplied indefinitely.

The interpretation of such documents demands a knowledge not only of law but of Coptic and Greek, and all this knowledge must be brought to bear simultaneously upon the manuscripts. Even as a translator one must keep in mind the many scholars who have to depend absolutely upon the fidelity of one's work. Here a sound philological training and method are as necessary as mathematics to astronomy; in particular it should not be thought that Coptic is an easy language merely because it has the appearance of being so.

University of Michigan.

W. H. WORRELL,  
HERBERT C. YOUTIE.

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*Études d'Éthiopien méridional.* By MARCEL COHEN. (Société Asiatique: Collection d'Ouvrages orientaux.) Paris: LIBRAIRIE PAUL GEUTHNER, 1931. Pp. xvi + 416.

Chapters on the less-known southern Abyssinian languages (Gurāgē,<sup>1</sup> Harari, Argobba) and Abyssinian Semitic in general, in liquidation of the author's expedition of 1910-1911.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gurāgyē, Gurāgwē.

<sup>2</sup> *Rapport sur une mission linguistique en Abyssinie* (1910-1911), in

The author's interest is phonetic and grammatical, though he includes discussion of migrations and interrelation, and gives a very full bibliography of geography, exploration, and history. The Semitic languages of Abyssinia are grouped with respect to certain traits; but as units they are not grouped generically, nor is very much revealed of the migrations. The author supposes an Old Abyssinian basis, broader than Ge'ez (Ethiopic) but not necessarily consisting of a single dialect. This Semitic basis was imported from Arabia. The author might have called attention to the opinion of Hubert Grimme, that Abyssinian Semitic is indigenous, constituting a link between Hamitic and Semitic, both geographically and generically.<sup>3</sup> Transplanted to African soil, the influences of different languages, Cushitic-Hamitic, operated upon the members of this Semitic basis, so as to produce greater diversity. The author is justified in applying the substratum-theory; though he might have called attention to the serious doubts of Jespersen,<sup>4</sup> and of Hempl before him, on the possibility of any effect upon a language by the language which it displaces. Remarkable characteristics of this Old Abyssinian basis are the absence of *ǵ* and the early disappearance of *ħ*; instead of "emphatics", simple consonants followed or accompanied by the glottal stop;<sup>5</sup> the labial appendage (*w*) to velars and uvulars;<sup>6</sup> absence of interdentalals (*t*, *d* etc.); preservation of a "lateral" sound belonging to the group ordinarily called "emphatic"; and the use of *f* instead of *p*. The last two are, of course, equally characteristic of Arabic. The substratum influence makes itself felt in excessive and characteristic palatalization of consonants, in the partial or total repetition of roots, in the compounding of verbs, and in the word-order. The substratum-languages or dialects were not always the same: that of Tigrē must have been Bedja, while that of Ge'ez and Tigrīña,

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*Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques*, nouv. série, fasc. 6. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *Mohammed*, in *Weltgeschichte in Charakterbildern*, München: 1904, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin*. London, 1922.

<sup>5</sup> Meinhof, "Was sind emphatische Laute und wie sind sie entstanden?" in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, 11 (1920-21), pp. 81 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The author uses the term "prepalatal" instead of the usual term "palatal," and has in consequence to say "prepalatalized." He uses "palatal" in the sense of "velar."

and even of Amharic, was Agau; and that of Gurāgē, many varieties of Sidama. As might be expected, the substratum has affected the sounds and syntax more than the forms. But Gurāgē, with its many dialects and sub-dialects, represents parallel development of different dialects of Semitic under the influence of a single substratum. The chief effects of substratum-influence upon southern Abyssinian Semitic are the passing of *b* into its corresponding bi-labial fricative, the interchange of *m* with *b* and with the bi-labial fricative or with *w*, the interchange of *k* and *h*, the palatalization of *k'*, the palatalization of *g* and its further passing (with other palatals also) into *j*, and the interchange of liquids.

The divisions and subdivisions of the Gurāgē people and speech are many. Each group speaks some dialect of Semitic or of Hamitic (Sidama); and the dialectic differences within each group are regarded by the people in the same way as the difference between Semitic and Sidama. This great linguistic diversity within a small area is to be contrasted with the comparative uniformity of Amharic over a large region. Gurāgē as a whole is characterized by predominance of consonants over vowels, palatalization (often without apparent cause), confusion of *l*, *n*, *r*, and absence of laryngals. The system of articulations centers in the alveolar-dental region.

Harari is an independent Semitic language of the Abyssinian group, confined to the city of Harar. Though long and intimately in contact with Arabic, it is practically uninfluenced by the latter. In contrast with Gurāgē it has full vowels and avoids gemination and other groupings of consonants, and its basis of articulation is more retracted, or rather, it has a laryngeal basis in addition to the palatal. It has the usual palatals and "emphatics".

The grammatical and lexicographical material will doubtless be of great value for a long time to that very small number of people who are engaged in the study of Abyssinian Semitic. To them a very large number of people must look for a solution of the relationship of Abyssinian Semitic to Hamitic and to the Semitic languages of Asia.

University of Michigan.

W. H. WORRELL.

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*Mekka in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century.* By C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, Litt. D., Professor at the Leyden University. Translated by J. H. MONAHAN, formerly H. B. M. Consul at Jeddah. (With 20 plates and maps). Leyden: Late E. J. BRILL, Ltd.; London: LUZAC & Co., 1931. Pp. 309.

Professor Snouck Hurgronje's treatise on the origin and nature of the pilgrimage under the title *Het Mekkaansche Feest* was written in 1880. It has never been challenged nor superseded as a scientific monograph on the Hajj. In 1885, after having spent five months in Jeddah, he journeyed to Mekka where he resided for six months and seems to have enjoyed the freest intercourse with all strata of society. No other visitor to Mekka had such adequate and scholarly preparation for his investigations of Mekkan life, and no other writer has so clearly pictured the condition of this conglomeration of nationalities which is still a microcosm of Islam. The result of this long residence was his work entitled *Mekka* published at the Hague in two volumes, with an atlas of photographs, in 1888. The original German edition has long been out of print. The first volume contained a topographical description of Mecca and a complete history of the Holy City from the time of Mohammed until 1885 A. D. It is the second volume of *Life in Mecca* which, with the exception of the album of photographs, is now published in somewhat condensed form, in English.

This belated translation, although most welcome, is, however, in some respects disappointing. The book begins abruptly—a palace without a vestibule. There is no preface, no introduction, no table of contents. The alphabetical index is excellent, but a list of Errata given on the last page, of forty-two misprints, might be considerably extended. We can only blame the proof-reader. And the translation is marred by unidiomatic sentences, for example: "I have seen people relieved for a few hours of violent toothache which had swollen on their faces"; and, "It is praiseworthy that with little or no contemporary demand for their productions Mekkan chroniclers to record the most important events of the city have never been wanting" (pp. 104 and 164).

The volume (although nothing of the sort is indicated) consists of four parts: Daily Life in Mecca (pp. 3-80); Family Life in Mecca (81-152); Learning in Mecca (153-212), and the Jawah,



i. e., the Javanese residing in Mecca (213-292). In describing the population of the Arabian capital, Professor Hurgronje begins with the slaves (and we know from the recent volume of Lady Simon that slavery in Mecca is not a thing of the past): "Before we enter upon a more detailed portrayal of the social life of Mekka citizendom set, as it were, in a frame of foreign colonies, we have to consider an important element of the population, an element which from the immemorial has been entering the town in masses and has been both physically and morally of the greatest importance in the formation of the Mekka type or rather types."

Although Dr. Hurgronje states that, taken as a whole "the position of a slave in Mecca is only formally different from that of European servants," and goes so far as to speak of "the anti-slavery fraud," the facts he himself records of cruelty and heartless treatment "of the human merchandise as if in a cattle-market" do not accord with his apologies for slavery in Islam.

All Meccans get their living directly or indirectly from the holy places in and near the town. "As the Moslim (sic) does not need the intervention of a priest for any religious act, very few are in a position actually to put a tax on the use of a holy place. So the exploitation of the Kaabah is the privilege of the old noble family of Sheybah; they do a trade in the used *kiswah* (great holy covering of the Kaabah) of each year, selling small scraps of it as amulets, and on the days when the Kaabah is opened to the public, or on the rare days when a rich stranger pays a large sum for an extra opening, the Sheybahs receive money presents from the rich and from nearly all strangers entering." The city swarms with guides (*mutawwifs*), marriage-brokers and agents of all sorts. "Each *mutawwif* puts his services at the disposal of the pilgrims of a particular nation or even of a particular province whose language he speaks and with whose peculiarities he is familiar, for without such knowledge the guiding of the pilgrims would be difficult and the exploitation of them would not be successful enough. From his business connections he gets information when a ship is approaching with pilgrims for him on board." The fleecing of pilgrims appears to be the sole industry of the permanent population. The pilgrims are all strangers and the Meccans take them in. "If it gets abroad that a certain pilgrim has many hundreds of dollars to dispose of, then, however much his

sheikh may warn him against officious intruders, and however many visitors the sheikh may drive off, yet one or another Mekkan always succeeds in obtaining admission so as to give the 'guest of God' a greeting or some other empty words and to track out the way to the milking of the newly-caught cow. These visitors with great skill and almost imperceptibly inform themselves of the circumstances and tastes of the objects of their attentions. Does the pilgrim need money, having seen that in Mekka there are all sorts of pleasures to be enjoyed? His new friend, who in the meantime has found out whether he is of rich family, is ready to lend him money in Mekkan fashion."

Hurgronje mentions "another important source of income which is open to almost all citizens of Mekka in the pilgrim season—the letting of lodgings." Mekka has no hotels, but, on the other hand, in the last months of the year "every Mekkan becomes an hotel-keeper, whether he has a whole house, or only one story, or half a story." We have descriptions of Meccan dwellings and the daily round of their monotonous life, enlivened by festivals, funerals, and carousals. The details of Ramadhan, the month of fasting, are portrayed in a masterly way, and one is tempted to quote the description of medical lore and practice, for most of it is still current in all parts of Arabia. "It is Islam, the official religion, that fuses together the discordant elements of the constantly fluctuating Mekkan society. On the other hand, it is this society which sweeps together into one chaotic whole, prejudices and superstitions deriving from all parts of the world. The greater share in this syncretistic task falls to the lot of the women; their livelier fancy inclines them to it, and their inclination is seldom counteracted by an exact acquaintance with the sacred lore. Moreover, as is well known, a considerable quantity of superstition has by assimilation become the common property of the Moslim (sic) world . . . To recount all the permitted and unpermitted superstitious usages of the Mekkans would be to catalogue fragments of the superstition of all Moslim (sic) lands, fragments which through syncretism have lost much of their distinctive peculiarities."

Dr. Hurgronje was the first writer who gave a full description of the Zar (an exorcism ceremony) as observed at Mecca in 1885, every detail of which is still practiced even in Cairo today, in spite

of the progress of civilization and education. The ceremonies observed at birth, circumcision, marriage and death are described with scholarly precision, and surpass in accuracy even Lane's account in his *Modern Egyptians*.

The third part of Hurgronje's "Mekka" deals with learning and education. Mecca has in every century of Islam had its coterie of learned men, and the holy sciences here found their work-shop no less than in Cairo and Baghdad. At the time of Dr. Hurgronje's visit, learning of the medieval type flourished, and the picture he paints is inimitable. The court of the great mosque is bounded by lecture-halls and school-rooms. The Koran is the first, the last, the chief text-book. Here is a bit of what we imagine was personal experience: "An European savant, physically well equipped, will in favourable circumstances take a week to learn to recite tolerably the first *Surah* consisting of only seven verses of the Qur'an. I shall never forget the first Friday night on which I attended in the house of the Shaf'ite *Mufti* the weekly recital of parts of the Qur'an by the most eminent reciters. I had already heard several times performances of that art done with different degrees of skill, so that the *qirayah* as such was quite familiar to me. Various melodies are allowed for these recitations, and an ordinary reciter confines himself to one to which he has been accustomed from his childhood. Specialists, however, such as I found on that night, combine the most difficult pronunciation with the most intricate melodies, and moreover, their entire tone varies with the contents of the text. The tone is quietest in the narrative parts, but in God's call to the unbelievers there is a roaring and a weeping which contagiously affect the listeners, and a terrifying mocking laughter that seems indeed rather hellish."

We are tempted to quote equally fine bits regarding the text-books and methods used in theological education, or regarding the life of the student and the practices of the mystics. In closing it may suffice to call attention to this important work as a historical portrait in the words of the author himself: "The picture of Mekka as it was in the days of Turkish rule may have a special interest now that the old state of things in the Muhammedan world is rapidly passing away. Mekka, whose inhabitants used to boast of their spending their whole lives in the Holy Province without any contact with the outer world, is now in close relation with the

West. The present Arab Governor, Faisal, a son of Ibn Sa'ud, has visited several Courts of Europe, young Mekkans travel widely, and aeroplanes and motor cars have entered into competition in the Arabian peninsula with the 'ship of the desert.' On the other hand, much of the gay social life of the past has disappeared under the present puritan régime, which, while reactionary in matters of religious doctrine and practice, is at the same time incredibly progressive in its adoption of inventions of the modern mechanical civilisation. Many features of Muhammedan culture have, however, maintained themselves unchanged.

Where so much is beyond praise and of permanent value, it is interesting to note that even Jove nods. Dr. Hurgronje refers, e. g., (on page 119) to the one hundred greatest names of Allah and to the rosary of one hundred beads. Al-Ghazali has a special section in his *Maqсад al-Asna*, explaining that the names of Allah are ninety-nine and cannot be one hundred. Also in his account of the *'aqiqa* sacrifice (page 110) there is no reference to the prayer used on that occasion, or to the fact that the bones of the sacrifice are never broken.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

Princeton, N. J.

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*Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, The Brāhmaṇa of the Twenty-five Chapters.* Translated by W. CALAND. (Bibliotheca Indica No. 255.) Calcutta: BAPTIST MISSION PRESS, 1931. Pp. xxxvi + 660.

This last work of the great Indologist, who died last spring, is a remarkable example of patient erudition and conscientious scholarship, and its publication has to be considered as an event of great importance for Vedic studies. The *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, one of the most important texts of Sāmavedic literature and a large source of information for the study of the Vedic religion, was edited, with the commentary of Sāyana (or rather Mādhava) in the Bibliotheca Indica in 1870 and 1874. But on account of the great difficulties the text presents to the student who has not been especially initiated into the Sāmavedic ritual, only a few scholars could use it with profit. The very accurate translation of Professor Caland, each paragraph of which is accompanied by ex-

planatory notes, references, and concordances, will make this important text more accessible to all students who are interested in the study of Vedic religion and literature.

The translation is preceded by a very useful and interesting introduction. In the first chapter Professor Caland gives a descriptive list of all the Sāmavedic texts belonging to the school of the Kāuthumas and the school of the Rāṇāyanīyas. The second chapter deals with the interrelation and the historic development of the older Sāmavedic texts, i. e. of the Grāmegeyagāna, Aranyegeyagāna, Ūhagāna, Ūhyagāna, Pūrvārcika, Āraṇyakasaṃhitā, and Uttarārcika. The Grāmegeyagāna is a collection of those Sāmans that were studied in the community; the Aranyegeyagāna a collection of those Sāmans that, because of their very sacred and dangerous character, were studied in the forest; the Ūhagāna contains the melodies of the Grāmegeya but adapts them to chanting in the praxis; the Ūhyagāna, while containing the melodies of the Aranyegeya, adapts them to the verses on which they must be chanted in the praxis; the Pūrvārcika is a collection of the verses on which the Sāmans of the Grāmegeyagāna are composed; the Āraṇyakasaṃhitā is a collection of the verses on which the Aranyegeyagāna is composed; the Uttarārcika is a collection of the verses on which the Sāmans have to be chanted. Professor Caland shows that the Ūhagāna and the Ūhyagāna are later than the Grāme-aranyegeyagānas, later than the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, later than the Ārṣeya and Kṣudrakalpa, later than the sūtra of Lāṭyāyana, and later even than the Puṣpasūtra. It is highly probable, he says in conclusion of his argument, that among the Sāmavedic Brahmans in early times certain rules were established and handed down by oral tradition for the adaptation (*ūha*) of the Sāmans in the Grāme- and Aranyegeyagānas, that these rules were at last collected and arranged in a book (our Puṣpasūtra), and that afterwards for convenience' sake these rules were all brought into action. In this manner the two last books of songs, the two last gānas, arose.

One would be inclined to believe that the Uttarārcika is older than the Pūrvārcika, for it seems at first likely "that a collection of verses on which the Sāmans had to be chanted must have been older than a collection of verses that served to register the melodies on which these verses had to be chanted." But Oldenberg has

proved that the Pūrvārcika is older than the Uttarārcika. In order to explain this strange state of affairs, Professor Caland proposes the following ingenious new hypothesis based on the study of the Brāhmaṇa: "The author of the Brāhmaṇa was not acquainted with our Uttarārcika; it did not exist at his time; but the chanters drew the verses they wanted directly from the Ṛksamhitā, and the Uttarārcika was composed in later times, in order to have at hand, in the regular order, the verses that they wanted." As a matter of fact, it is expressly stated in the Brāhmaṇa that in a certain case a great number of verses had to be taken from the Ṛksamhitā; moreover the expression *saṃbhārya*, used three times in the Brāhmaṇa and denoting a complex of verses to be taken from different parts of the Veda, is incomprehensible if we suppose that those verses were taken from the Uttarārcika. Still there are some other facts which seem to contradict this new hypothesis and which cannot be easily explained without admitting, according to a former hypothesis of Professor Caland, that at the time of the Brāhmaṇa the chanters had at their disposal a collection of tristichs and pragāthas which was not our Uttarārcika but the forerunner of it. The chapter ends with a clear exposé of the historic development of the older Sāmavedic texts according to the new hypothesis.

The third chapter is especially interesting. In the first paragraph, Professor Caland studies the problem of the relation between the Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa and the Jāiminīyabrāhmaṇa. The contents of the two Brāhmaṇas are, on the whole, similar, but the two works differ widely with regard to their diction. The Pañcaviṃśa is much more concise, so much so that the myths or legends which we find in it are sometimes hardly comprehensible. This may be explained either by a theory that those myths and legends were current and well known or by a theory that the Pañcaviṃśa borrowed them from the other Brāhmaṇa: the Śātyāyani or the Jāiminīyabrāhmaṇa. This last hypothesis is plausible because there are linguistic and ritualistic facts which seem to prove that the Jāiminīya is older than the Pañcaviṃśa. In the Pañcaviṃśa the locative of the stems in *-n* has constantly the case sign *-i*, while in the Jāiminīya the locatives in *-n* are preponderant. In the Pañcaviṃśa the ending of the nominative plural of the stems in *-i* is constantly *-yaḥ*, while in the Jāiminīya it is the Vedic ending *-īḥ*. In the Pañcaviṃśa we find the forms *tanūm*, *asthīni*,

*yuvām, duhate*; in the Jāiminiya the older Vedic forms *tanvam, asthāni, yuvam, dukre*. On the other hand, it is remarkable that some very barbaric rites of the Mahāvratā and of the Gosava prescribed in the Jāiminiya, do not occur in the Pañcaviṃśa, and we are inclined to believe that those rites were omitted because at the time of the Pañcaviṃśa they had become obsolete.

The sixth paragraph deals with the composition of the Pāñcaviṃśa. Professor Caland proves that the first chapter, which is a collection of formulas muttered by the chanters on different occasions during the soma sacrifice, was composed later than the Brāhmaṇa proper, which begins with chapter 4, the second and third chapters being a description of the manner in which the various stomas are to be formed. The Brāhmaṇa proper (chapters 4-25) agrees in the main, as to its contents, with the Jāiminiya.

In the eighth paragraph, Professor Caland gives a valuable list of the phonologic, morphologic, and syntactical peculiarities of the Pañcaviṃśabrāhmaṇa. A detailed table of contents closes the introduction.

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*The Vedic Chant studied in its Textual and Melodic Form.* By J. M. VAN DER HOOFT. Wageningen: H. VEEMAN AND SONS' PRESS, n. d. Pp. xv + 123.

This contribution to the study of the Vedic chant mainly deals with the stobhas, i. e., the sounds, syllables, sentences, or verses which are inserted in a ṛc, while it is joined with the melody.

The principal part of the first chapter is an attempt to find out the principles according to which the stobhas have been classified in the first and second khaṇḍas of the stobhānusamhāra. In the second chapter, the author studies the notations used in the Kāuthuma school of the Sāmaveda, the rhythm and phrasing of the melody, the structure of the melody, and the theory of the Bhaktis according to the Pañcavidhasūtra. In the third chapter he refutes Hillebrandt's hypothesis concerning the origin of the stobhas. Following Professor Faddegon's theory of the ritualistic Dadaïsm (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. v), he is inclined to think that all Vedic chanting is "a form of dadaïsm, a naive mysteriousness, that masks a meaning by means of paraphernalia of form."

As a supplement to his work the author publishes a catalogue

of the stobhas based on the stobhānusamhāra of the Kāuthumas. This catalogue, accompanied with critical and interpretative notes, will certainly be useful to the students of the Sāmaveda who are interested in the difficult problem of Vedic chanting.

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*History of Sanskrit Literature. Vol. I. Śruti (Vedic) Period* (circa 4000 to 800 B. C.), in four sections (I Samhitās; II Brāhmanas; III Vedāṅgas; IV The Bhagavadgītā). By C. V. VAIDYA. Poona, 1930. Pp. iv + 227 + 223 + 184 + 96 + xii.

As Mr. Vaidya says in his preface, this is a history of the Vedic period of Sanskrit Literature written from an Indian point of view. According to him, European scholars have not paid enough attention to the studies of Indian scholars concerning the dates of the Vedic texts, and, on account of their bias in favor of Greek civilization, they have not been able to concede that the Indo-Aryan civilization could be as much earlier than the Greek as it claims to be. Therefore one of the principal aims of Mr. Vaidya is to prove by the arguments of B. G. Tilak and S. B. Dixit and by his own new arguments that the texts of the Vedic literature are much older than Western scholars generally believe. According to Mr. Vaidya, the principal land-marks of the Vedic and postvedic chronology are the following: (1) the date of some Ṛgvedic hymns (4500 B. C.); (2) the date of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (3000 B. C.); (3) the date of the Māitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad (1900 B. C.); (4) the date of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa (1400 B. C.). Mr. Vaidya considers the arguments presented by Tilak, Dixit, and himself for these dates as "almost unanswerable" because they are based on astronomical data. But they are also based on some passages of Vedic texts, the interpretation of which is difficult and uncertain, and on the assumption that the Brahmins of the Vedic period had a very extended knowledge of astronomy, which is the reason why western scholars still remain skeptical about the conclusions of the Indian scholars.

Mr. Vaidya tries to establish some other important dates of Sanskrit Literature. According to him the date of the Kāuṣītaki Brāhmaṇa is about 2500 B. C.; the date of the Bhagavadgītā is



about 1400-1200 B. C.; the date of Pāṇini is about 800 B. C. I am sure that Western scholars will not easily admit such early dates for those texts. But the argumentation of Mr. Vaidya is often ingenious and interesting and some chapters of his work, especially the chapter concerning Pāṇini, contain valuable observations. Moreover we have to confess that the chronology generally adopted by the Western scholars is still very uncertain.

The work of Mr. Vaidya is to be consulted with caution. The Western reader will find in it many opinions which will seem very improbable or even impossible; for instance that the Vedic Aryans, 4000 or 3000 B. C., had iron tools, or that, beyond doubt, the Bhārata fight took place 3102 B. C., or that Vyāsa compiled the three older Vedas and composed the first Bhārata epic; but he will also find some useful information and interesting suggestions.

P. E. DUMONT.

Johns Hopkins University.

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*Jainism in North India. 800 B. C.-A. D. 526.* By CHIMANLAL J. SHAH, M. A. (Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. No. 6.) New York: LONGMANS, GREEN AND Co., 1932. Pp. xxiv + 292, with 26 illustrations and 2 maps. \$15.

It is gratifying to see a Jain layman devote himself to the study of Jainism. An increasing number of books on various aspects of Jainism is being produced, but many more by non-Jains than Jains.

The present work is a survey of historical data available in regard to the Jain church in North India down to the time of the reduction to writing of the Śvetāmbara canon. Other phases of Jainism are only touched upon. Some aspects of doctrine—the Nine Tattvas, Syādvāda, Ahimsā—are briefly explained, and there are chapters on Literature and Art.

Mr. Shah does not profess to have made any new discoveries, as he says himself in his introduction, but he has made an extensive study of the work done up to this time on the very difficult question of Indian history of this period. He obviously intends to be strictly impartial and quotes from the supporters of all theories on the debatable points. Occasionally, doubtless due to

the convincing arguments of his authorities, he becomes involved in contradictions.

Mr. Shah begins with the earliest theories on Jainism propounded by its first European students—Wilson, Colebrooke, and men of that period—giving more space than necessary to their refutation, in view of the fact that they have been completely superseded. In the chapter, “Jainism before Mahāvīra,” he endorses the universally accepted facts that Pārśvanātha was a historical person, that the Jains were well established in his time, and that nothing can be said regarding his predecessors. In “Mahāvīra and his Times,” he gives the usual biography of Mahāvīra and discusses the relations of Jainism with Brahmanism. He sets forth the different views in regard to the chronology of Vīra’s life. He himself favors 480/467 B. C. as the date of Vīra’s nirvāṇa (p. 31), but gives no new evidence in support of that date. Elsewhere, e. g., pp. 67 and 73, he apparently accepts the traditional date of 527 B. C.

In this chapter the author discusses the schisms in the church, especially the defection of Gośāla and the division into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. Though reviewing the information on Gośāla found in the Āgamas, which is practically limited to Bhagavati 15, he ignores Hemacandra’s account in Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra 10, chaps. 3, 4, 8, which is well worth considering in view of the very limited material of early date. He summarizes the traditions of the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras about their separation, and concludes that ca. 80 A. D. dates an important stage in their separation, but that it was not final until the canon was reduced to writing at the council of Vallabhī in the middle of the fifth century A. D. In fixing the date of the council, he accepts 527 B. C. as the date of Vīra’s nirvāṇa and quotes arguments in support of the council’s date as about the middle of the fifth century A. D.

The chapter “Jainism in Royal Families” tries to establish the dynastic connections of Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and the influence Jainism had on reigning houses through the time of Samprati. Our information about Pārśva is limited but uncontradicted, and Mahāvīra’s family connections are undisputed; but the question of the Magadhan dynasties, which is discussed in this connection, remains as unsettled as ever. Mr. Shah does, however, make out a very good case for the reliability of the Jain annals. For the Nandas he prefers Hemacandra’s chronology to Merutuṅga’s.

After the Mauryas the center of Jainism passed to Kaliṅga, the modern Orissa. And here the claims of the Jains cannot be disputed, as they are verified by Khāravela's Hāthigumphā inscription, which Mr. Shah analyzes in detail. He agrees with the date 170 B. C. for this inscription, but argues that Kaliṅga was an "important seat of Buddhist and Jaina influence from the third century B. C. to the eighth or ninth century A. D." In his discussion of the Khaṇḍagiri caves Mr. Shah makes a slip curious for a Jain. He speaks of the śāsanadevīs as "consorts" of the Tīrthaṅkaras (p. 152). He seems to have been misled by the writer in the District Gazetteer. The śāsanadevīs were messenger deities. Each Tīrthaṅkara had a śāsanadevatā who, together with a male attendant, was always near. See Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 1.46. In another instance also, where he has apparently followed a non-Jain writer, he slips into error. He speaks of Paryuṣaṇā beginning on the fourth (or fifth) day of Bhādrapad, whereas it is the last day that comes on the fourth (or fifth) of Bhādrapad.

After the Khāravela period, the author touches briefly on Vikrama of Ujjain, whom he considers—certainly correctly—a historical person, and then passes to the Mathura inscriptions which testify to the fact that Jainism flourished that far north in the Indo-Scythian period. It is still one of the northern outposts of Jainism. Mr. Shah concludes his survey of the unrecorded period of Jain history with the Guptas and the rise of the Vallabhī dynasty in the west. On the strength of two of the Mathura inscriptions and a reference to the Guptas in a Jain work of the eighth century, *Knvalayamālā*, he concludes that Jainism was very strong in the Gupta period and was regarded benevolently by the royal house. It was under the Vallabhī dynasty that the great council which settled the Śvetāmbara canon took place. Here Mr. Shah contradicts himself as he decides on the beginning of the sixth century as the date of the council (p. 222), whereas earlier (p. 73) he accepts the middle of the fifth century as its date.

The chapter on Literature consists for the most part of brief resumé's of the Āgamas, apparently based on the resumé's of Weber and Winternitz. In passing, the full title of the third Upāṅga is *Jīvājīvābhigama*. Mention is made of some non-canonical works of great authority, such as the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, and of the

less-known works of Siddhasena and Pādalipta. The chapter on Art deals with the Orissa caves and the sculpture at Mathura.

The book is illustrated with 26 beautiful plates, which are doubtless chiefly responsible for its high price. Though the English price is only half of the American, yet it is sufficient to put it out of the reach of Indian students. This is to be regretted, as the material it contains is more accessible to Europeans than Indians.

HELEN M. JOHNSON.

Osceola, Missouri.

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*A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur Division of the Tibetan Tripitaka edited in Peking during the K'anghsi Era, and at present kept in the Library of the Ōtani Daigaku, Kyōto.* Compiled by various scholars. Part I: Kyōto, ŌTANI DAIGAKU LIBRARY, 1930, pp. 4-177; Part II, 1931, pp. 179-360; Part III, 1932, Introductory Remarks, pp. 14, pp. 361-477.

*Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Par MARCELLE LALOU. Quatrième Partie, I. *Les mDo-man.* Buddhica, IV, Paris; LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALISTE PAUL GEUTHNER, 1931. Pp. 1-110.

The above two works represent a further step in the study of the Tibetan Canon. It was Alexander Csoma de Körös who gave us the first analysis of the Narthañ edition, published in 1742, of the Kanjur in vol. XX of the *Asiatic Researches*. In 1854 Schmidt prepared an *Index of the Kanjur in the Collection of Baron Schilling von Canstadt*. L. Feer gave a French translation of the Analysis by Csoma de Körös in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, vol. II. In 1914 the Royal Library in Berlin issued a Catalogue of the manuscript copy of the Kanjur, based on an edition of the Ming period. The Catalogue was prepared by Dr. Hermann Beckh and was a great improvement on the previously existing Indexes of the Collection. Quite recently Dr. L. D. Barnett has published in *Asia Major*, 1931, vol. VII, part 1/2, pp. 157-178, an Index of the Sūtra division of the manuscript Kanjur, preserved in the British Museum, and interesting because of the arrangement of the material in it. Adequate catalogues of the Derge edition in

100 volumes and of the Red edition issued under K'ang-hsi, published about 1700, were still desiderata. A few years ago, Mr. J. F. Rock, travelling in the Sino-Tibetan borderland on behalf of the National Geographic Society of Washington, secured a copy of the Kanjur printed at Čoni Gompa, which is interesting from many points of view. This last edition of the Kanjur is now preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington.

Our Japanese colleagues deserve our hearty congratulations for having issued the first Catalogue of the K'ang-hsi edition of the Kanjur with page-references to the Narthañ and Derge editions of the Tripiṭaka. This splendid work was carried out by Mr. Bunkyo Sakurabe, already known as author of several important contributions in the study of the Tibetan Canon (see *Bibl. Bouddhique*, I, Paris, NNo. 76-77). The present Catalogue is based on the Red K'ang-hsi edition, which was acquired in 1900 in Peking by Professor Yenga Teramote, and is now preserved in the Ōtani Daigaku Library at Kyōto. The references to the Derge edition are based on a manuscript Catalogue of the Collection prepared by Professor Teramoto. In the present Catalogue the title of each entry is given in Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Chinese. The variant readings are indicated in the foot-notes. The corresponding Chinese versions are numbered according to the Nanjio Catalogue and the Taishe edition of the Tripiṭaka. The names of translators and editors, as well as those of the localities where the translations have been made, are given in transcription. The rest of the text is in Japanese. Part I contains the Tantra (rGyud) division. Part II contains the Prajñāpāramitā (Čer-phyin), Ratnakūṭa (dKon-brtsegs), Avatamsaka (Phal-chen), and Sūtra (mDo). Part III has the continuation of the Sūtra division, Indexes (Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese), and the Introduction. A glance at the new Catalogue will suffice to show that it contains a wealth of information not recorded, or misunderstood, in the Berlin Catalogue prepared by Beckh. A few remarks and corrections to this effect may be of interest:

Ōtani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 7, no. 16 (also p. 20), repeats the mistake made by Beckh, Catalogue, p. 75 & p. 90. Čhos-kyi dbañ-phyug of Mar should be understood Čhos-kyi dbañ-phyug of Marpa Lho-brag, that is the famous Marpa Lotsāba, as already indicated by Dr. Laufer in *JRAS*, 1914, p. 1135. The personal religious

name of Marpa, received by him on his ordination, was Čhos-kyi blo-gros (Dharmamati). The Kanjur colophons mention him under both names, see Beekh, p. 87 a.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 8, no. 17, correctly indicates the name of the editor of the text as Čhos-kyi brtson-'grus. Beekh, p. 75 had misunderstood the text and translated the personal name. Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 8, no. 19, repeats Beekh's mistake by writing Yu-tuñ-lhun. Dr. Laufer had shown (ibid, p. 1139, note) that the correct way of separating the words was: Yu-ruñ lhun-grub-pa'i gtsug-lag-khañ or the "miraculous temple of Yu-ruñ". Another common spelling of the name of this famous temple and place of pilgrimage is Patan, Nepāl, and commonly met with in the Tibetan rnam-thar literature is Ye-rañ (-rañs) or Ye-rañ rgyal-sa. The Kanjur colophons write the name Yu-ñ or Yutañ, which must be a misprint for Yerañ ~ Yu-ruñ. Sarat Chandra Das in his Dictionary has both names noted separately.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 9, no. 21 the name of the translator is not La-bciñs Yon-tan 'bar, but should be corrected to Yon-tan 'bar of 'Čhiñs, 'Čhiñs being the translator's clan'sname or the name of his birth-place, see Laufer, ibid, p. 1139, note. Beekh, p. 77, made a similar mistake.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 9, no. 22, gives the correct form of the name of the Lotsāba Khu-ston dños-grub. Beekh, p. 76 has the erroneous form Khu-sñon dños-grub.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 15, no. 47, read dpal-dur-khrod rgyan-gyi rgyud-kyi rgyal-po.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 18, no. 62, correctly writes the name of the translator Khe'u-rgad 'khor-lo-grags. Beekh, p. 82, has Khe-rgaṅ 'khor-lo grags.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 19, no. 68, the 'Gos-klug-pa Lhas-btsas is a misprint for 'Gos-khug-pa Lhas-btsas.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 34, no. 104, read rDo-rje grags of Rva (Rā).

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 34, no. 104, the correct reading of the translator's name is indicated in the foot-note: Amogha'i šabs nus-pa-can.

Ötani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 49, no. 128, Čelu is another form of the name Tsilu. Tsilu paṇḍita was a well-known adept of the

Kālacakra. See my "Studies in the Kālacakra, I", *Journal of the Himalayan Research Institute*, vol. II, 1932.

Ōtani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 52, no. 137, read mTho-ldiñ gser-khañ instead of Tho-riñ gser-khañ.

Ōtani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 132, no. 387, the Gag-gi dban-phyug is a misprint for Nag-gi dbaṅ-phyug.

Ōtani Daigaku Catalogue, p. 155, no. 463, Dr. Laufer (ibid, p. 1137) has already indicated that Beckh, p. 136, had misunderstood the colophon. The expression "yon-bdag bgyis-nas," which puzzled Beckh, means simply "having supported or assisted financially" (yon-bdag = sbyin-bdag, alms-giver, supporter). The text was translated by the Nepālese Çrikīrti, and the work was supported by the Mongols mČhog-gi sñiñ-po and An (añ?) bkra-çis, and the Nepālese bZaṅ-bkra-çis rgya-mstho.

In his review of Beckh's Catalogue, Dr. Laufer (ibid, 1914) stressed the importance of the study of colophons for the reconstruction of the historical development of the Tibetan Canon. An edition with all colophons printed in extenso would be of the greatest value. At present one has to go back to the Tibetan originals, notwithstanding the existence of several catalogues. The information given in the colophons should be collated with the rich data found in the "Lives" of the principal lotsābas or translators, such as the rnam-thar or "Lives" of Lotsāba Vairocana, Marpa Lotsāba, Rva-lotsāba 'Bro-Lotsāba and many others. Many of these texts give lengthy lists of titles of works rendered into Tibetan by the translators, and as such are of the greatest value.

The work of Mlle. Lalou is consecrated to the mDo-mañ, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the Musée Guimet, and the Bibliothèque de l'Institut. These mDo-mañ, often also called gZuñs-sdus "abridgement of dhāraṇīs" are collections in one volume of short abridged texts extracted from the two large collections of the Tibetan Canon. The volume is destined for the poorer class of people unable to acquire and house the large collection of the Kanjur. It is hardly possible to establish the date of the collection. The different editions of the mDo-mañ seem to agree, at least such is the impression gained after the perusal of the present Catalogue, and the examination of several mDo-mañ. The chief interest of these mDo-mañ lies in the fact that they contain a number of titles and colophons not to be found

in the larger collections. They also include a certain number of extra-canonical texts, such as the sMe-bdun šes-bya-ba skar-ma'i mdo, or "the Sūtra of the Great Bear", which is not found in the Narthañ and Derge editions of the Kanjur, but is included in the manuscript Kanjur catalogued by Beckh (Beckh, p. 70), and the K'ang-hsi edition of the Kanjur (Ōtani Daigaku Catalogue, no. 1028). Three titles are given in the still enigmatic languages of Šaṅ-šun, Sumpa, and Lha'i-skad. There exists a Mongol edition of the mDo-man, which was recently analysed by M. Louis Ligeti in T'oung Pao, XXVII, 2/3, pp. 119-178.

We hear that Mlle. Lalou is preparing an Index to the Catalogue of the Tanjur by the late Dr. Palmyr Cordier. This work when printed will be the greatest boon for scholars.

GEORGES DE ROERICH.

Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute,  
Naggar, Kulu, India.

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*Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore.* By R. D. JAMESON. Peiping: SAN YU PRESS, 1932. 164 pages.

These lectures were delivered in the spring of 1932 at the North China Union Language School. The author is a teacher at the National Tsing Hua University. The book is necessarily very limited in its scope, merely taking one or two tales as illustrations of method. Nevertheless, this method represents a considerable advance over such earlier books as Ferguson's *Chinese Mythology*. Professor Jameson knows something about Chinese folklore, and the study of folklore as a comparative science. He is critical, and gives evidence of wide reading in European sources. The bibliography is good, though it makes two curious mistakes. It assigns De Groot's book on the festivals of Amoy to Chavannes in one place, and to the right author in another. And Professor Jameson is unaware that the eight volumes of Doré which he lists are only a partial translation into English of a French original of fourteen volumes. There are several mistakes in the spelling of ordinary English words, doubtless due to the Chinese printers, whose work, however, is good on the whole. The book would have more value if the Chinese of all proper names had been given. The first lecture



might have been omitted, and the hearers asked to read the articles on myth and folklore in any encyclopedia. Professor Jameson's own interpretation seems to be psychological, and he interprets his tales as expressions of erotic desires, suppressed or unfulfilled. Curiously enough, his chief example, the Cinderella tale, is not really Chinese, but was imported from the south at a relatively late period. The best thing in the book is his analysis or translation of an article by Hu Shih, which is a model of investigation in this field. The reviewer was not impressed by the notes from Shirokogoroff at the end of the volume.

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*An Account of Tibet; The Travels of Ippolito Desideri, S. J., 1712-1727.* Edited by FILIPPO DE FILIPPI, with an Introduction by C. WESSELS, S. J. London: ROUTLEDGE, 1932. 475 pages, 17 plates.

This book is one of the series called *The Broadway Travellers*, edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power. Among the other volumes are the travels of Huc, Clavijo, and Ibn Batuta. This volume is a valuable addition to an already distinguished series. A number of books have recently been published on the work of the early Jesuits, including Fr. Dahmen's *Robert de Nobili* (Paris, 1931), and P. D. Schilling's *Das Schulwesen der Jesuiten in Japan* (Münster, 1931). While this book does not give modern scholars information about Tibet which they do not already possess, and while Desideri is naturally mistaken at times, this in no way detracts from the importance of Desideri's work as a historic document. Considering the handicaps under which he labored, it is surprising how wide and generally accurate his observations were, as well as how fair he was towards religious beliefs and practices to which he was opposed. He was not a scientific investigator, but a missionary of a period not marked by tolerance, yet his account of Tibetan culture shows a painstaking desire to be accurate and fair. The book is not only important historically, but is interesting in itself both for its account of Tibet at the beginning of the 18th Century, and for the light it sheds on a heroic character. The introduction, notes, and indexes are good, but the editor does not appear to know the work of Wolfenden, Von Stael-Holstein, and

some other modern scholars. One wishes that the archaic spelling of proper names had not been retained, and that the map covered more territory toward the east.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

University of Pennsylvania.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Dr. George W. Brown, professor of Missions in India, and instructor in Phonetics, at the Kennedy School of Missions, of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, died on December 4, 1932, after a brief illness.

The Executive Committee has passed the following vote: "Resolved by the Executive Committee of the American Oriental Society, that it views with sympathetic interest the plan of the New Orient Society of America to hold a New Orient Congress of Scholars from the Orient in Chicago in 1933, and believes that such a gathering can be made of distinct service to the promotion of Oriental studies."

By the terms of the will of the late Rev. Dr. Justin E. Abbott the Society is to receive a bequest, which is tentatively estimated as \$6000, although the exact value will not be determined until Dr. Abbott's estate is distributed some months hence.

The Yale Press, our agent for the distribution of the JOURNAL, needs eight copies of the JOURNAL, vol. 52, pt. 1, in order to fill orders for the volume as a whole. Members who have copies of part 1, volume 52, which they are willing to return to the Press at cost will do the Society a great favor by notifying the Press immediately by postcard.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

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The Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for the current academic year is Prof. Nelson Glueck of the Hebrew Union College; the Annual Professor Prof. C. G. Cumming of Bangor Theological Seminary; Thayer Fellow Mr. Kenneth C. Evans. Professors M. G. Kyle and W. F. Albright pursued their fourth campaign at Tell Beit Mirsim the past summer, and have returned home.

The work of the School in Baghdad will be continued at Tell Billah and Tepe Gawra for the coming season by Mr. Charles Bache as Field Director, accompanied by two fellows, Dr. Cyrus Gordon of the University of Pennsylvania and Mr. A. C. E. T. Piepkorn of the University of Chicago, and as architect Mr. Paul Beidler of the University of Pennsylvania. Professor E. A. Speiser, Field Director for the past year, has returned to Philadelphia.

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## THE MACDONALD PRESENTATION VOLUME

A volume of Oriental, Biblical, and Other Studies is being prepared at Hartford and will be published by the Princeton University Press, in honor of the Reverend Professor Duncan Black Macdonald, D.D., for forty years Professor of Semitic Language in the Hartford Seminary Foundation. The volume is to be presented to him on his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933. There will be a photographic frontispiece of Dr. Macdonald and a bibliography of his writings. Advance subscriptions at \$5.00 may be made to The Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey; or Oxford University Press, Oxford, England; or The Macdonald Presentation Volume Committee, Mrs. W. M. Mackensen, *Secretary*, 35 Evergreen Avenue, Hartford, Conn.

## J. M. P. SMITH—IN MEMORIAM

The President of the Society appointed a committee, consisting of Drs. Montgomery, Morgenstern, and Torrey, to prepare an appropriate testimonial to the late Professor J. M. P. Smith, Vice-President of the Society, who died September 26, 1932. The committee has prepared the following minute:

In the passing of Professor John Merlin Powys Smith the American Oriental Society suffers a great and irreparable loss. A member of the Society since 1906, he was particularly active in the work of its Mid-Western Branch ever since its organization in 1917. He was a regular attendant at its annual sessions, as well as at the occasional joint-sessions of the Eastern and Mid-Western Branches. At all these meetings he presented papers of broad and stimulating scientific interest. He likewise participated freely in the discussion of the papers of his colleagues, and by friendly, sympathetic, appreciative suggestions and generous contributions from his rich store of knowledge, derived from careful, widely ramified reading and patient, penetrating research, added more than one scholar's share to the rich scientific harvest of these meetings. In 1925-1926 he was honored by election as President of the Mid-Western Branch of the Society, a worthy tribute to his scholarly attainments and well-deserved recognition of his unstinted and valued services to the Society. The duties of this high office he discharged with wisdom and dignity.

His scholarly services and achievements, particularly in the field of Biblical Science, transcended far his labors and services within the Society itself. He was an indefatigable worker, a searching student, a prolific writer. In addition to his strictly scientific books and articles, as an author of numerous works of semi-popular interest, as a contributor to various encyclopedias of many articles dealing with the most varied Biblical subjects, and as editor of the new American translation of the Old Testament, he discharged with singular zeal, effectiveness, and grace the important and difficult rôle of mediator and interpreter to the educated lay public of the choicest fruits of Biblical and Semitic scholarship. And as Professor of Semitic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago and as able editor of the *Biblical World*, the *American Journal of Theology*, the *Journal of Religion*, and the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* for over a quarter of a century, he furthered greatly the work and progress of Old Testament scholarship. Biblical Science in its widest aspect has been enriched immeasurably by his life and work, his University has been honored and dignified by his achievements, and his colleagues of the American Oriental Society have been helped and stimulated by his fellowship and friendship. Therefore the American Oriental Society gives this sincere expression of its appreciation of his long and honorable membership within it, of its profound sense of loss and grief in his all-too-early demise, of its condolence with the University of Chicago and its Faculty, and of its heartfelt sympathy for his beloved wife and daughter.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.  
† Designates members deceased since the annual meeting.

### HONORARY MEMBERS

- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLF ERMAN, University of Berlin, Germany. (Peter Lennéstr. 36, Berlin-Dahlem.) 1903.
- Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1889; Honorary, 1905.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, Germany. (Niebuhrstrasse 59.) 1909.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Rapenburg 61.) 1914.
- Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris, France. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
- FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, 102 Rue de Grenelle, Paris, France. 1918.
- Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean, Oxford, England. 1919.
- Prof. V. SCHELL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
- Prof. FREDERICK W. THOMAS, University of Oxford, England. 1920.
- Rév. Père M.-J. LAGRANGE, Ecole archéologique française de Palestine, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1921.
- DON LEONE CAETANI, DUCA DI SERMONETA, R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, Italy. 1922.
- Prof. MORIZ WINTERNITZ, German University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. (Prague II, Opatovická 8.) 1923.
- Prof. PAUL PELLIOU, Collège de France, Paris, France. (38 Rue de Varenne, Paris, VIIe.) 1924.
- Prof. KURT SETHE, University of Berlin, Germany. (Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Konstanzerstr. 36.) 1927.
- Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., Gorton Castle, Simla, India. 1928.
- Prof. FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., D.C.L., University College, London, England. 1928.
- Sir AUREL STEIN, Litt.D., c/o The President, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, England. 1928.
- Prof. WILHELM GEIGER, München-Neubiberg, Germany. 1929.
- Prof. CARL BROCKELMANN, Dahnstr. 47, Wilhelmsruh, Breslau, Germany. 1931.
- Prof. F. LLEWELLYN GRIFFITH, University of Oxford, England. (11 Norham Gardens, Oxford.) 1931.
- Prof. HEINRICH LÜDERS, University of Berlin, Germany. (Berlin-Charlottenburg, Sybelstr. 19.) 1931.

- Prof. HENRI MASPÉRO, Collège de France, Paris, France. 1931.  
Prof. JACOB WACKERNAGEL, University of Basle, Switzerland. (Gartenstr. 93.) Corporate Member, 1921; Honorary, 1931.

[Total: 25]

#### HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- Field Marshal Viscount ALLENBY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, London, England. 1922.  
Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
Pres. Emeritus FRANK J. GOODNOW, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Chief Justice, The Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE, Chinese Legation, London, England. 1922.

[Total: 6]

#### CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

- MARCUS AARON, 5564 Aylesboro Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.  
MOSTAFA ABBASI, 5721 Kenwood Blvd., Hyde Park Sta., Chicago, Ill. 1927.  
†\*Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.  
Prof. J. MCKEE ADAMS, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 1932.  
\* Pres. CYRUS ADLER (Dropsie College), 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.  
Dr. MEHMET AGA-OGU, Curator of Near Eastern Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich. 1930.  
Prof. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR (Univ. of Madras), "Sriyayavasam," 1 East Mada St., Mylapore, Madras, India. 1921.  
P. L. AJIZ, M.A., The Modern High School, Allahabad, U. P., India. 1929.  
Dr. ALLEN D. ALBERT, Century of Progress Administration Bldg., Chicago, Ill. 1932.  
ALLEN D. ALBERT, III, 1217 Church St., Evanston, Ill. 1932.  
Prof. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1915.  
Prof. EDWIN BROWN ALLEN (Rensselaer Polytechnic Inst.), 4 Sheldon Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1932.  
Prof. T. GEORGE ALLEN (Univ. of Chicago), 5460 Ridgewood Court, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
Prof. OSWALD T. ALLIS, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1528 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.  
NAZMIE H. ANASTAWY, Jaffa, Palestine. 1925.  
†Prof. SHIGERU ARAKI, The Peeress' School, Aoyama, Tokyo, Japan. 1915.  
Prof. J. C. AROHER, Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.  
Rev. ROBERT C. ARMSTRONG, Ph.D., 85 Asquith Ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1926.

- Mrs. LOUIS E. ASHER, 5008 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.  
 Mrs. FLORENCE AYSCOUGH, Litt.D., c/o Lyceum Club, 138 Piccadilly, London, England. 1931.  
 Mrs. SIMON BACHARACH, 1040 Winding Way, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.  
 Prof. WILLIAM FREDERIC BADE (Pacific School of Religion), 2616 College Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1920.  
 Rev. FREDERICK A. BAEPLER, 3128 Belmont Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1926.  
 Prof. MOSES BAILEY (Wellesley College), 6 Norfolk Terrace, Wellesley, Mass. 1922.  
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, 616 La Paloma, Alhambra, Calif. 1916.  
 LOUIS BAMBERGER, c/o L. Bamberger & Co., Newark, N. J. 1928.  
 \* Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.  
 Prof. P. V. BAPAT, 349 Harvard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1930.  
 Mrs. EARL H. BARBER, 42 Haven St., Reading, Mass. 1925.  
 \* PHILIP LEMONT BARBOUR, 191 Indian Road, Piedmont, Calif. 1917.  
 \* Prof. LEROY CABE BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.  
 \* Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON (Univ. of Pennsylvania), N. E. Cor. 43rd and Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.  
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.  
 Prof. MINER SEARLE BATES, University of Nanking, Nanking, China. 1926.  
 Prof. LORING W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 6 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 \* Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH, Winter Park, Fla. 1898.  
 Miss VIRGINIA BEADLE, 1 West 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1927.  
 Rev. WILLIAM Y. BELL, Ph. D., Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga. 1923.  
 Prof. ALFRED R. BELLINGER (Yale Univ.), 234 Fountain St., New Haven, Conn. 1929.  
 \* Prof. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR (Deccan College), Bilvakunja, Bhamburda, Poona, India. 1914.  
 \* ALBERT FARWELL BEMIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1927.  
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.  
 Rev. CHARLES D. BENJAMIN, Ph.D., Somerton, Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.  
 Rabbi MORTON M. BERMAN, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.  
 OSCAR BERMAN, Third and Plum Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.  
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1914.  
 ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, 825 York St., Denver, Colo. 1920.  
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY (Colgate-Rochester Divinity School), 300 Alexander St., Rochester, N. Y. 1907.  
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1929 (1907).  
 Prof. D. R. BHANDARKAR (Univ. of Calcutta), 35 Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, India. 1921.  
 WOODBRIDGE BINGHAM, 1921 Capistrano Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1931.  
 CARL W. BISHOP, American Legation, Peiping, China. 1917.

- Prof. F. LOVELL BIXBY, The Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. 1928.
- Rabbi EUGENE BLACHSCHLEGER, 3122 Kensington Ave., Richmond, Va. 1928.
- Miss DOROTHY BLAIR, Assistant Curator, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio. 1931.
- Pres. JAMES A. BLAISDELL, Claremont Colleges, Claremont, Calif. 1928.
- Prof. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2205 Arden Road, Mt. Washington, Baltimore, Md. 1900.
- Rabbi SHELDON H. BLANK, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1926.
- Rev. Dr. JOSHUA BLOCH, New York Public Library, 476 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rabbi HERBERT I. BLOOM, 310 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927 (1917).
- Mrs. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, c/o Townsend Scott and Son, 209 East Fayette St., Baltimore, Md. 1928.
- Prof. PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. 1916.
- Dr. GEORGE V. BOBRINSKOY, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1925.
- Rev. PAUL OLAF BODDING, Mohulpahari, Santal Parganas, India. 1928.
- Prof. FRANZ M. T. BÖHL, D.D., Ph.D. (Univ. of Leiden), Rapenburg 53, Leiden, Holland. 1928.
- Rev. AUGUST M. BOLDUC, S.T.L., The Marist College, Brookland, Washington, D. C. 1921.
- \*Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING (Ohio State Univ.), 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. CAMPBELL BONNER, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1920.
- HUGH BORTON, 731 Panmure Road, Haverford, Pa. 1932.
- Prof. CLARENCE BOUMA, Th.D. (Calvin College), 925 Alexander St., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1928.
- Prof. RAYMOND A. BOWMAN (Northwestern Univ.), 7033 Jeffery Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Rev. A. M. BOYER, 114 Rue du Bac, Paris VIIe, France. 1928.
- WATSON BOYES, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES S. BRADEN, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1926.
- Prof. THOMAS ALLAN BRADY (Univ. of Missouri), 705 Missouri Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1932.
- ROBERT J. BRAIDWOOD, Washtenaw, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1932.
- Rabbi WILLIAM G. BRAUDE, c/o Sons of Israel and David, 688 Broad St., Providence, R. I. 1932.
- AARON BRAY, M.D., 2027 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- \*Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Rabbi BARNETT R. BRICKNER, 8206 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. 1926.
- Miss EMILIE GRACE BRIGGS, Hotel Holley, 36 Washington Square West, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. GEORGE WESTON BRIGGS, M.Sc. (Drew University), Green Village Road, Madison, N. J. 1923.



- FLETCHER S. BROCKMAN, LL.D., Room 1271, Hotel McAlpin, New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- Prof. BEATRICE ALLARD BROOKS, Western College, Oxford, Ohio. 1919.
- †Prof. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Kennedy School of Missions, 55 Elizabeth St., Hartford, Conn. 1909.
- Dean OSWALD E. BROWN, Vanderbilt University School of Religion, Nashville, Tenn. 1926.
- Prof. W. NORMAN BROWN, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- \*Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Prof. FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1926.
- Dr. LUDLOW BULL, Associate Curator, Egyptian Dept., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- Prof. MILLAR BURROWS, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1925.
- Prof. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 252 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Prof. EUGENE H. BYRNE (Columbia Univ.), 34 East 75th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY (Bryn Mawr College), 774 Millbrook Ave., Haverford, Pa. 1914.
- Prof. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY (Kennedy School of Missions), 143 Sigourney St., Hartford, Conn. 1932.
- GEORGE G. CAMERON, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Ph.D., 260 West 231st St., New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Miss LILLIAN C. CANFIELD, 4636 Hazel Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY (Univ. of Louvain), Sparrenhof, Corbeek-Loo, Belgium. 1916.
- Dr. JOHN F. B. CARRUTHERS, 1015 Prospect Boulevard, Pasadena, Calif. 1923.
- HARRY W. CARTWRIGHT, c/o Dr. E. T. Engle, College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- RALPH M. CHAIT, 600 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Prof. BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN, c/o Lloyds Bank, Law Courts Branch, 222 Strand, London, England. 1928.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, D.D., 138 Hancock St., Auburndale, Mass. 1899.
- Rev. ROBERT E. CHANDLER, Hopei, Tientsin, China. 1932.
- Miss HELEN B. CHAPIN, 416 East 50th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Dr. WILLIAM J. CHAPMAN, "Fallowfield," New Boston, Mass. 1922.
- Prof. JARL H. R. T. CHARPENTIER, Ph.D. (Univ. of Upsala), 12 Goethgatan, Upsala, Sweden. 1928.
- Mrs. HAROLD S. CHARTIER, 40 Romeyn Ave., Amsterdam, N. Y. 1924.

- Pandit J. C. CHATTERJI, India Academy of America, 200 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- KSHETRESHCHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA, M.A., Sanskrit Department, The University, Allahabad, U. P., India. 1925.
- Prof. EDWARD CHIERA, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1915.
- Dr. WILLIAM CHOMSKY, 5018 F St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK (Harvard University), 39 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- Mrs. CHARLES H. CLARKE (*née* Benkard), 204 East 41st St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Rabbi ADOLPH COBLENZ, 2029 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md. 1928.
- ALFRED M. COHEN, 9 West 4th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rabbi HENRY COHEN, D.D., 1920 Broadway, Galveston, Texas. 1920.
- \*Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 1027 North Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.
- Dr. MAUDE GAECKLER (Mrs. H. M.) COOK, Box 175, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- \*Prof. DOUGLAS HILARY CORLEY (Univ. of Louisville), 1928 Decker Ave., Louisville, Ky. 1922.
- Sir J. C. COYAJEE (Presidency College), c/o Park St. Branch, Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, India. 1928.
- Dr. HERBEE GLESSNER CREEL (Harvard-Yenching Inst.), 30 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1932.
- Prof. JOHN WALLIS CREIGHTON (College of Wooster), 1681 Burbank Road, Wooster, Ohio. 1929.
- Rev. JOHN R. CROSBY, Ph.D., D.D., St. Luke's Church, Seaford, Del. 1927.
- Prof. EARLE B. CROSS, Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, N. Y. 1927.
- Prof. DAVID E. CULLEY, D. D. (Western Theol. Seminary), 57 Belvidere St., Crafton, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. CHARLES GORDON CUMMING (Bangor Theol. Seminary), 353 Hammond St., Bangor, Maine. 1928.
- Miss CECILIA CUTTS (Univ. of Washington), 6011 31st Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash. 1926.
- Prof. M. ELIZ. J. CZARNOMSKA, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1928.
- Prof. GEORGE H. DANTON (Oberlin College), 47 College Place, Oberlin, Ohio. 1921.
- Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 92 Morningside Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Miss FLORENCE E. DAY, c/o American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria. 1932.
- Prof. FRANK LEIGHTON DAY, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va. 1920.
- Dr. JAMES E. DEAN (Oriental Inst., Univ. of Chicago), 6229 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. JOHN PITT DEANE, Beloit College, Beloit, Wis. 1926.
- Dr. NELSON C. DEBEVOISE, 1114 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1927.

- Dean IRWIN HOCH DELONG (Theol. Seminary of the Reformed Church),  
523 West James St., Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ROBERT E. DENGLE (Pennsylvania State College), 210 South Gill  
St., State College, Pa. 1920.
- JOHN HOPKINS DENISON, The University Club, 1 West 54th St., New York,  
N. Y. 1929.
- RAMA DEVA, Principal, The Gurukula, Kangri P. O., Bijnor Dist., U. P.,  
India. 1928.
- JAMES DEVADASAN, Theological Seminary, Bareilly, India. 1929.
- HERBERT J. DEVINE, The Shelton, Lexington Ave. and 49th St., New York,  
N. Y. 1929.
- A. SANDERS DEWITT, M.D., 4854 Third Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1930.
- Mrs. A. SANDERS DEWITT, 4854 Third Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1928.
- NARIMAN M. DHALLA, M.A., 15 Royal Artillery Lines, Karachi, India.  
1922.
- Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, Apartment 606, The Wyoming, Washington,  
D. C. 1911.
- Dr. FREDERICK W. DICKINSON, Incarnate Word College, Broadway, San  
Antonio, Texas. 1929.
- Pres. BAYARD DODGE, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria. 1926.
- Rev. MARTIN LUTHER DOLBEER, Narasaravupet, Guntur District, South  
India. 1929.
- LEON DOMINIAN, American Consul General, Stuttgart, Germany. 1916.
- Rev. DWIGHT M. DONALDSON, Ph.D., D.D., Meshed, Persia. 1928.
- Rev. A. T. DORF, 114 Bay Ridge Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGES DOSSIN (Univ. of Liège), 20 Rue des Ecoles, Wandre-lez-  
Liège, Belgium. 1926.
- Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY (Yale Univ.), 83 Mill Rock Road, New  
Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Chaplain C. HAROLD DOUGLAS, Th.D., Norfolk Navy Yard, Portsmouth, Va.  
1928.
- Prof. JOHN DOW, 50 St. George St., Toronto, Canada. 1929.
- Prof. LUCY DRISCOLL (Univ. of Chicago), 2564 E. 72nd Place, Chicago, Ill.  
1932.
- WALDO H. DUBBERSTEIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago,  
Ill. 1932.
- Prof. PAUL EMILE DUMONT, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.  
1930.
- Prof. GEORGE S. DUNCAN (American Univ., Y. M. C. A. School of Religion),  
2900 Seventh St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- DOWS DUNHAM, Assistant Curator, Egyptian Dept., Museum of Fine Arts,  
Boston, Mass. 1929.
- Prof. CHARLES DUROISSELLE, M.A. (Rangoon Univ.), "C" Road, Mandalay,  
Burma. 1922.
- Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON (Yale Univ.), 1504A Yale Station, New Haven,  
Conn. 1910.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Oriental Institnte, University of Chicago,  
Chicago, Ill. 1917.

- Dean GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS (Bible College of Missouri), 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. ISRAEL EFROS, Temple Beth El, 153 Richmond Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1918.
- Rabbi LOUIS I. EGELSON, 2 Avon Apts., Reading Road and Clifton Springs Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
- Pres. FREDERICK C. EISELEN, 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill. 1901.
- Dr. ISRAEL EITAN, 248 Amber St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1928.
- ABRAM I. ELKUS, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. BARNETT E. ELZAS, 42 West 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. MURRAY B. EMENEAU (Yale Univ.), 1910 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1929.
- Rabbi H. G. ENELow, D.D., Temple Emanu-El, 1 East 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. THOMAS EDSON ENNIS, West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va. 1932.
- Prof. MORTON SCOTT ENSLIN (Crozer Theol. Seminary), 4 Seminary Ave., Chester, Pa. 1925.
- SIDNEY I. ESTERSON, 113 North Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1926.
- Pres. MILTON G. EVANS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921.
- Mrs. EDWARD WARREN EVERETT, Swan House, Hinsdale, Ill. 1930.
- Dr. SAMUEL FEIGIN, c/o Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Dr. S. FELDMAN, Dept. of Psychology, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1926.
- FRANCIS JOSEPH FENDLEY, 2234 Q St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1927.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, 3 Hsi-Chiao Hutung, Peiping, China. 1900.
- Miss HELEN E. FERNALD, Assistant Curator, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1927.
- Prof. BENIGNO FERRARIO, Casilla de Correo 445, Montevideo, Uruguay. 1927.
- Rabbi MORRIS M. FEUERLICHT, 3034 Washington Boulevard, Indianapolis, Ind. 1922.
- HENRY FIELD, LL.D., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Rabbi WILLIAM H. FINESHRIEBER, 1916 Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Dr. SOLOMON B. FINESINGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1922.
- Rabbi JOSEPH L. FINK, 599 Delaware Ave., Buffalo, N. Y. 1920.
- Dr. JOSHUA FINKEL, 3505 Ave. I, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1929.
- Prof. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dean EDGAR J. FISHER, Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey. 1931.
- Rev. FRED FOERSTER, Ph.D., First Lutheran Church, Jeffersonville, N. Y. 1926.
- \*MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, 402 Hammond Bldg., Detroit, Mich. 1922.

- Dean HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917 (1907).
- Rev. Dr. FRANK H. FOSTER (Oberlin College), 184 Forest St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1931.
- Rabbi SOLOMON FOSTER, 90 Treacy Ave., Newark, N. J. 1921.
- Rev. WILLIAM M. FOUTS, Th.D., 3040 W. Washington Boulevard, Station D, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Prof. HENRY T. FOWLER, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1926.
- Rabbi GRESHAM GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., 7524 Essex Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Rabbi LEON FRAM, 8801 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1926.
- \*Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- W. B. FRANKENSTEIN, 840 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Rabbi LEO M. FRANKLIN, M.A., 26 Edison Ave., Detroit, Mich. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., Hotel Aragon, 54th St. and Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1918.
- MAURICE J. FREIBERG, 701 First National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Prof. ALEXANDER FREITMAN, Ph.D. (Univ. of Leningrad), Zwerinskaya 40, Leningrad, U. S. S. R. 1928.
- Rabbi HIRSCH L. FREUND, 226 N. Washington St., Sumter, S. C. 1929.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLESTON, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- ERWIN H. FURMAN, 1750 Sycamore Ave., Hollywood, Calif. 1928.
- \* Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- Prof. ESSON M. GALE, Chinese Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai, China. 1929.
- ALBERT GALLATIN, 7 East 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1930.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- CHARLES S. GARDNER, 148 Highland Ave., Newtonville, Mass. 1930.
- KANHAIYA LAL GARGIYA, The Mahalakshmi Mills Co., Ltd., Beawar, Rajputana, India. 1927.
- Pres. Emeritus CALEB F. GATES, LL.D., c/o Near East Colleges, 18 East 41st St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Prof. FRANK GAVIN, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Dr. F. W. GEERS, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLOT, 149-46 117th St., Aqueduct, L. I., N. Y. 1911.
- Prof. BEREND GEMSER, Litt. Dr., Theol. Dr., Transvaal University College, Pretoria, South Africa. 1928.
- Rabbi ISRAEL GERSTEIN, 408 Jordan St., Shreveport, La. 1932.
- GUION M. GEST, 1336 Woolworth Building, New York, N. Y. 1930.
- HUGH W. GHORMLEY, 211 N. Grove Ave., Freeport, Ill. 1932.

- Rev. PHARES B. GIBBLE, 4 North College St., Palmyra, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE W. GILMORE, The Homiletic Review, 354 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. ALBERT D. GLANVILLE, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1931.
- Prof. NELSON GLUECK, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.
- SWAMI GNANESWARANANDA, 120 E. Delaware Place, Chicago, Ill. 1930.
- Prof. ALLEN H. GODBEY (Duke University), Route 1, Hillsboro, N. C. 1928.
- Rabbi S. H. GOLDENSON, Ph.D., 4905 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, c/o Anshe Emes Congregation, 3762 Pine Grove Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH, Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. FRED FIELD GOODSSELL, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1931.
- CHANDRA DHARMA SENA GOONERATNE, 5504 Kenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Dr. CYRUS H. GORDON, 7203 Atlantic Ave., Atlantic City, N. J. 1928.
- HIRSCH LOEB GORDON, Ph.D., D.H.L., 2161 Southern Boulevard, Bronx, New York, N. Y. 1929.
- \* Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHELL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 39 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT HENRY GOWEN, D.D. (Univ. of Washington), 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Wash. 1920.
- Rev. DAVID C. GRAHAM, Ph.D., West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan Prov., China. 1931.
- Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, Box 2, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Dean FREDERICK C. GRANT (Western Theol. Seminary), 600 Haven St., Evanston, Ill. 1929.
- BENJ. F. GRAVELY, P. O. Box 209, Martinsville, Va. 1925.
- MORTIMER GRAVES, Assistant Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C. 1929.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GRAYZEL, Gratz College, N. Philadelphia Sta., Philadelphia, Pa. 1929.
- Rabbi SIMON GREENBERG, 5635 Wyndale Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- ROGER S. GREENE, China Medical Board, The Rockefeller Foundation, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1926.
- \*Dr. LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
- Prof. ELDON GRIFFIN, 2012 19th Ave., N., Seattle, Wash. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. HERVEY D. GRISWOLD, 20 Rowsley St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1920.
- MICHAEL J. GRUENTHNER, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kans. 1929.
- Prof. LÉON GRY (Université libre d'Angers), 10 Rue La Fontaine, Angers, M.-et-L., France. 1921.
- W. F. GUNAWARDHANA, Rose Villa, Mount Lavinia, Ceylon. 1928.
- BATTISCOMBE GUNN, Curator, Egyptian Section, The University Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1932.

- Babu SHIVA PRASAD GUPTA, Seva Upavana, Hindu University, Benares, India. 1921.
- \*Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS (Inst. of Hyperphysical Research), 45-60 215th Place, Bayside, N. Y. 1903.
- Miss LOUISE W. HACKNEY, The National Arts Club, 15 Gramercy Park, New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Dr. MOSES HADAS (Columbia Univ.), 600 West 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. HAIL, D.D., College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. 1928.
- Dr. GEORGE ELLERY HALE, Director, Mt. Wilson Observatory, Pasadena, Calif. 1920.
- ABRAHAM S. HALKIN (Columbia Univ.), 1140 Anderson Ave., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Prof. FRANK H. HALLOCK, D.D., Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1926.
- RICHARD T. HALLOCK, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. CLARENCE H. HAMILTON (Oberlin School of Theology), 144 Forest St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1926.
- VALDEMAR T. HAMMER, Branford, Conn. 1925.
- Dr. E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1924.
- \*Rev. EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., Ph.D., General Theological Seminary, 175 Ninth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Pres. FRANKLIN STEWART HARRIS, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 1929.
- ZELLIG S. HARRIS, 5601 W. Diamond St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.
- Rev. MAX H. HARRISON, United Theological College, Bangalore, S. India. 1927.
- PAUL W. HARRISON, M.D., 25 East 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1931.
- HENRY H. HART, J.D., 328 Post St., San Francisco, Calif. 1925.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. P. HATCH, D.D., Th.D. (Episcopal Theol. School), 6 St. John's Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1930.
- JOEL HATHEWAY, 15 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. RAYMOND S. HAUPERT, Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa. 1926.
- Prof. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- WYNDHAM HAYWARD, Box 426, Winter Park, Fla. 1925.
- Rev. GEORGE P. HEDLEY, Th.D. (Pacific School of Religion), 2625 Piedmont Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1931.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN HEDLEY, Lihue, Kauai, Hawaii. 1926.
- N. M. HEERAMANECK, 724 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1931.
- Rabbi JAMES G. HELLER, 3634 Reading Road, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. DAVID SCUDDER HERRICK, M.A., 26 Dennison St., Hartford, Conn. 1932.
- Rev. JAMES M. HESS, American College, Madura, S. India. 1928.
- Rabbi EUGENE E. HIBSHMAN, 3004 Union Ave., Altoona, Pa. 1929.
- ROWLAND H. C. HILL, Box 1056, Sea Cliff, N. Y. 1929.
- Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.

- Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St., Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD, Ph.D. (Univ. of London), 195 Lauderdale Mansions, London, W. 9, England. 1928.
- Prof. PHILIP K. HITT (Princeton University), 14 Wilton St., Princeton, N. J. 1915.
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 92 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- G. F. HOFF, 404 Union Building, San Diego, Calif. 1920.
- Rev. WILLIS E. HOGG, 122 E. North St., Geneseo, Ill. 1926.
- Prof. CLARK HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 548 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1931.
- †\*Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New Haven, Conn. 1881.
- LOUIS L. HORCH, 310 Riverside Drive, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. WILLIAM WOODWARD HORNEILL, Vice-Chancellor, Hong-Kong University, Hong-Kong, China. 1928.
- Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER (Jewish Theol. Seminary), 207 West 110th St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT PIERREPONT HOUGHTON, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1925.
- Rev. QUENTIN K. Y. HUANG, American Church Mission, Nanchang, Kiangsi, China. 1927.
- GEORGE R. HUGHES, Wymore, Neb. 1932.
- Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Director, New York Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital, 303 East 20th St., New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Dr. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, Chinese Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1928.
- Dr. WILLIAM F. HUMMEL (Univ. of Southern California), 1204 West 37th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1932.
- Miss FRANCES E. HUMPHREY, 8328 S. Morgan St., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- \* Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 3 East 89th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
- \* JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.
- Prof. WALTER WOODBURN HYDE, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- \* Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. MOHAMMAD IQBAL, Ph.D., Oriental College, Punjab University, Lahore, India. 1926.
- Prof. W. A. IRWIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927.
- Prof. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M.A., University of Lucknow, Lucknow, India. 1926.



- Miss NEJLA M. IZZEDDIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- \* Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1885.
- \* Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, care of Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. FREDERICK J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D. (Union Theol. Seminary), Dana Place, Englewood, N. J. 1920.
- J. E. JADERQUIST, 536 S. Hope St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1928.
- Prof. R. D. JAMESON, National Tsing Hua University, Peiping, China. 1929.
- Mrs. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., 248 South 23d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- Sir DON BARON JAYATILAKA, M.A., Islington, Havelock Road, Colombo, Ceylon. 1928.
- HORACE H. F. JAYNE (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum), Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Pa. 1930.
- Rev. Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, American University, 113 Sharia Kasr el Aini, Cairo, Egypt. 1923.
- Dr. GEORGE JESHURUN, 1366 55th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1925.
- \* Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- MUNI JINAVIJAYAJI, Principal, Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad, India. 1928.
- Rev. FREDERICK WILLIAM JOHNSON, Westerhope Vicarage, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England. 1926.
- \* Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Mo. 1921.
- HIRAM K. JOHNSON, M.D., Kings Park State Hospital, Kings Park, L. I., N. Y. 1932.
- HON. NELSON TRUSLER JOHNSON, American Legation, Peiping, China. 1921.
- Prof. OBED S. JOHNSON (Wabash College), 1007 W. Wabash Ave., Crawfordsville, Ind. 1929.
- Capt. SAMUEL JOHNSON, P. O. Box 611, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.
- Sir REGINALD F. JOHNSTON, 4 Eversfield Road, Richmond, Surrey, England. 1919.
- Rev. FRANKLIN JOINER, 2013 Appletree St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Rev. CONRAD W. JORDAN, 5900 Burgess Ave., Hamilton, Md. 1925.
- Prof. S. L. JOSHI, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. 1927.
- SUNDER JOSHI, 44 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass. 1929.
- Prof. MOSES JUNG, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. 1926.
- Dean MAXIMO M. KALAW, University of the Philippines, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Dean LOUIS L. KAPLAN, Baltimore Hebrew College, 1201 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md. 1926.
- SYDNEY KASPER, 7018 Paxton Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Rev. Dr. CLARENCE E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- CHARLES PENROSE KEITH, Litt.D., 5219 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1929.

- CARL T. KELLER, 80 Federal St., Boston, Mass. 1928.
- CHARLES FABENS KELLEY, Assistant Director, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1926.
- \* Prof. MAX L. KELLNER, D.D., 3 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1886.
- FREDERICK W. KELLOGG, 145 East Mariposa St., Altadena, Calif. 1930.
- JOHN P. KELLOGG, Room 1236, Continental Illinois Bank & Trust Co., Chicago, Ill. 1926.
- Prof. ROBERT J. KELLOGG, 913 West 6th St., Lawrence, Kans. 1926.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- EASTON T. KELSEY, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1930.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, 731 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. JAMES L. KELSO, D.D. (Pittsburgh-Xenia Theol. Seminary), 616 W. North Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. JOHN M. KELSO (Wesley Collegiate Inst.), 406 N. Bradford St., Dover, Del. 1923.
- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- Prof. ANDREW KEOGH (Yale Univ.), 49 Huntington St., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Prof. H. A. F. KERN, M.D., D.D. (Susquehanna Univ.), 311 N. Market St., Selins Grove, Pa. 1929.
- LEEDS C. KERR, Army and Navy Club, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Dean FREDERICK D. KERSENER, LL.D., College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1930.
- Rev. ROBERT O. KEVIN, JR., Philadelphia Divinity School, 42d and Locust Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- H. KEVORKIAN, 40 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- GANDA SINGH KEWAL, Ph.B., B.Sc., Khalsa College, Amritsar, India. 1929.
- Prof. ISADORE KEYFITZ, Lowry Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1930 (1920).
- Prof. ANIS E. KHURI, American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria. 1921.
- Dr. GEORGE B. KING, 1050 Grosvenor Ave., Winnipeg, Man., Canada. 1927.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 8 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- EUGENE KLEIN, 44 North 50th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. WALTER C. KLEIN, St. Mary's House, 144 West 47th St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Prof. CARL S. KNOPP (Univ. of Southern California), Box 187, 3551 University Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. RAYMOND C. KNOX, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT (Jewish Inst. of Religion), 1185 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924 (1894).
- Prof. CARL H. KRAELING (Yale Univ.), 67 Ridgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1925.

- Prof. EMIL G. H. KRAELING (Union Theol. Seminary), 531 East 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- S. N. KRAMER, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Pres. MELVIN G. KYLE (Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary), 616 W. North Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1909.
- Mrs. OLIVER LA FARGE, 2d (*née* Mathews), 205 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Miss M. ANTONIA LAMB, 212 South 46th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. MILTON B. LAMBDIN, 3534 Park Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1928.
- SAMUEL C. LAMPORT, 509 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi ISAAC LANDMAN, 333 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1927.
- KENNETH PERRY LANDON, 710 Walnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1932.
- \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- AMBROSE LANSING, Associate Curator, Egyptian Dept., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. JACOB Z. LAUTERRACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Dr. BIMALA C. LAW, 43 Kailas Bose St., Calcutta, India. 1926.
- SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.
- Prof. DARWIN A. LEAVITT, 641 Church St., Beloit, Wis. 1920.
- Prof. SHAO CHANG LEE, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1928.
- Rabbi DAVID LEFKOWITZ, 2415 South Boulevard, Dallas, Texas. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. LÉON LEGRAIN, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1921.
- Prof. KURT F. LEIDECKER, India Academy of America, 200 West 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. HARRY J. LEON (Univ. of Texas), 2832 Pearl St., Austin, Texas. 1928.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, Ph. D., 919 Hyde Park Boulevard, Hyde Park Station, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. ABRAHAM J. LEVY (College of Jewish Studies), 3123 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Rev. Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 445 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- † \* JOHN F. LEWIS, LL. D., 1914 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Miss ETHEL J. LINDGREEN, Newnham College, Cambridge, England. 1928.
- Dr. H. S. LINTFIELD, American Jewish Committee, Room 1407, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Ph.D., D.D. (Univ. of Tübingen), 50 Waldhäuser-str., Tübingen, Germany. 1927 (1902).
- Prof. MORRIS U. LIVELY, Trinity University, Waxahachie, Texas. 1931.
- JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. 1922.

- Prof. CLAUDE M. LOTSPEICH, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
- Prof. HENRY WINTERS LUCE, D.D., Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, Conn. 1929.
- Prof. HENRY F. LUTZ (University of California), 1147 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 808 S. Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- \* Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, 12 Scott St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTHGOE, Curator Emeritus, Egyptian Dept., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Rev. WILLIAM H. McCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, D.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- ROBERT H. McDOWELL, 4016 The Museums Building, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1932.
- Dr. C. W. McEWAN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN, 105 Harris Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1928.
- DAVID ISRAEL MACHT, M.D., The Johns Hopkins University Medical School, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. J. F. McLAUGHLIN, D.D., 58 Roxborough St., W., Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1930.
- J. ARTHUR MACLEAN (Toledo Museum of Art), 2301 Glenwood Ave., Toledo, Ohio. 1922.
- Prof. O. W. McMILLEN, 100 West 26th St., Austin, Texas. 1928.
- Prof. HARLEY F. MACNAIR, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Rev. ALLAN A. MACRAE, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1528 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.
- SWAMI MADHAVANANDA, Belur Math, Howrah District, Bengal, India. 1928.
- \* Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 801 DeMun Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Prof. CARROLL B. MALONE, Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colo. 1929.
- Prof. JACOB MANN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, Ph.D., 4622 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. CLARENCE A. MANNING (Columbia Univ.), 25 East View Ave., Pleasantville, N. Y. 1921.
- \* Rev. Prof. JAMES CAMPBELL MANNY, Allahabad Christian College, Allahabad, India. 1921.
- BENJAMIN MARCH, Curator of Asiatic Art, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich. 1926.

- Prof. RALPH MARCUS (Jewish Inst. of Religion), 511 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- SHLOMO MARENOF, 5411 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, Ph.D., 16 Glen Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1924.
- †\*Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 12 Whitman Court, Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- THOMAS E. MARSTON, Etterby Farm, Cornwall, Conn. 1931.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Dr. NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH, 450 West 152nd St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. ALEXANDER MARX, Jewish Theological Seminary, 531 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1926.
- Prof. MANMOHAN LAL MATHUR, Hindu Sabha College, Amritsar, New Delhi, India. 1927.
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Prof. JOSEPH BROWN MATTHEWS, 383 Bible House, Astor Place, New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Rev. THEODORE MAYER, 174 Schenck St., North Tonawanda, N. Y. 1929.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. MAYERBERG, 235 Ward Parkway, Kansas City, Mo. 1930.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 114 East 76th St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. B. C. MAZUMDAR (University of Calcutta), 33/3 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta, India. 1926.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Rev. JAMES M. MENZIES, United Church of Canada Mission, Changtcho, North Honan, China. 1930.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Trinity College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1912.
- Mrs. BESSIE C. MERRILL, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1932.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, 1624 Crescent Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Miss JULIE MICHELET, The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Prof. TRUMAN MICHELSON (George Washington Univ.), Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- GEORGE C. MILES, Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey. 1931.
- Prof. HERBERT MILLER, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. 1932.
- MERTON L. MILLER, 4517 Lomita St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1921.
- Mrs. PHILIP MILLER (*née* Lowden), 5801 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Rev. PHILO LAOS MILLS, D.D., 2315 Lincoln Road, N. E., Washington, D. C. 1923.
- Prof. WALLACE H. MINER, 2206 Brun St., Hyde Park, Houston, Texas. 1925.
- A. MINGANA, "Manuscripta," 168 Middleton Hall Road, King's Norton, Birmingham, England. 1928.
- Sir BHUPENDRA NATH MITRA, High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, London, W. C. 2, England. 1931.

- E. N. MOHL, P. O. Box 76, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1928.
- Dr. ROBERT LUDWIG MOND, 9 Cavendish Square, London W. 1, England. 1921.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- LEWIS C. MOON, Box 25, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Miss ELLEN W. MOORE, 19 East Pierce St., Coldwater, Mich. 1927.
- FRANK G. MOORE, 264 Tuxedo Ave., Elmhurst, Ill. 1927.
- Prof. LAURENCE SHAW MOORE, Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey. 1930.
- PRES. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- \* EFFINGHAM B. MORRIS, LL.D., "Tyn-y-Coed," Ardmore, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. RALPH MORTENSEN, Ph.D., Lutheran Board of Publication, 23 Liang Yi St., Hankow, China. 1928.
- KHAN BAHADUR MIRZA MUHAMMAD, C.I.E., Strand Road, Ashar, Basrah, Iraq. 1928.
- Prof. JAMES MULLENBURG (Univ. of Maine), Orono, Maine. 1928.
- DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI, 325 East 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. VALENTIN K. MULLER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1931.
- Prof. TOYOZO W. NAKARAI, College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1926.
- EDWARD I. NATHAN, American Consulate, Monterrey, Mexico. 1928.
- Prof. HAROLD H. NELSON (Univ. of Chicago), Chicago House, Luxor, Egypt. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 507 Washington St., Wilmington, Del. 1916.
- Prof. ABRAHAM A. NEUMAN (Dropsie College), 2319 North Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. HERBERT LEE NEWMAN (Colby College), 2 West Court, Waterville, Maine. 1928.
- Rabbi LOUIS I. NEWMAN, Ph.D., c/o Congregation Rodeph Sholom, 7 West 83rd St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Mrs. GILBERT M. NICHOLS, Assonet, Mass. 1927.
- HORACE J. NICKELS, The Chicago Theological Seminary, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- JOHN NICOLSON, 1701 Sixteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1931.
- SWAMI NIKHILANANDA, The Vedanta Society, 34 West 71st St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- CHARLES F. NIMS, 2404 Detroit Ave., Toledo, Ohio. 1931.
- W. H. NOBLE, JR., Southmoor Hotel, 67th St. and Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 5422 39th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- WILLIAM F. NUTT, M.D., Ph.D., 849 Garfield Ave., Mont St. Station, Chicago, Ill. 1927.

- Dr. ALOIS RICHARD NYKL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- Prof. H. TH. OBBINK, D.D. (Univ. of Utrecht), Dillenburgstr. 29, Utrecht, Holland. 1928.
- Prof. JULIAN J. OBERMANN, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- ADOLPH S. OCHS, The New York Times, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. GEORGE ALLEN ODGERS, Kamehameha Schools, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1932.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 East 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- NAOYOSHI OGAWA, Bureau of Education, Government of Formosa, Taihoku, Formosa. 1921.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. ELLEN S. OGDEN, "Resthaven," R. F. D., Milford, Mass. 1898.
- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1909.
- Dr. H. H. VON DER OSTEN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, Assiut, Egypt. 1921.
- ELEANOR PARRY, M.D., 36 Central Ave., Huntington, N. Y. 1931.
- Rabbi HERBERT PARZEN, Park and Clay Sts., Portland, Ore. 1929.
- ANTONIO M. PATERNO, 243 Aviles, Manila, P. I. 1922.
- Prof. JOHN PATESSON, Ph.D., Drew University, Madison, N. J. 1932.
- ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, 1703 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, 63 Girard Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1921.
- ANTHONY F. PAURA, 505 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Mrs. PAUL W. PAUSTIAN, 5 Williams St., Columbia, Mo. 1930.
- Dr. JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVEY, 43 Clarges St., London, W. 1, England.
- Dr. CYRUS H. PEAKE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1930.
- Rabbi WALTER G. PEISER, 1736 Olive St., Baton Rouge, La. 1928.
- Dr. FREELAND F. PENNEY, 326 Indiana St., Lawrence, Kans. 1931.
- Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. MARSHALL LIVINGSTON PEREIN, Boston University, 688 Boylston St., Boston, Mass. 1921.
- \* Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1879.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2409 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. THEODORE C. PETERSEN, C.S.P., Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1924.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER (Harvard Univ.), 57 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Prof. DRYDEN L. PHELPS, Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan Prov., W. China. 1929.
- \* Rev. Dr. DAVID PHILIPSON, 270 McGregor Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.

- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, 17 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 1917.  
 Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
 Rev. CLAUDE L. PICKENS, JR., 43 Tungting Road, Hankow, Hupeh, China. 1931.  
 MAURICE B. PIEKARSKY, Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 West 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1931.  
 Rev. ARTHUR C. PIEPKORN, 5610 W. Washington Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis. 1932.  
 Prof. K. RAMA PISHAROTT, Sanskrit College, Trippunithura, Cochin State, S. India. 1929.  
 Rev. MALCOLM S. PITT, 55 Rest Camp Road, Jubbulpore, C. P., India. 1925.  
 Prof. ARNO POEBEL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.  
 HORACE I. POLEMAN, 402 Green Lane, Roxborough, Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.  
 Prof. ROBERT T. POLLARD, Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1932.  
 PAUL POPENOE, 2495 N. Marengo Ave., Altadena, Calif. 1914.  
 Rev. Dr. JOSEPH POPLICH, 113 Catawissa St., Mahanoy City, Pa. 1927.  
 Prof. WILLIAM POPPER (University of California), 529 The Alameda, Berkeley, Calif. 1897.  
 Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, Yenching University, Peiping, China. 1923.  
 Prof. D. V. POTDAR (New Poona College), 180 Shanvar Peth, Poona, India. 1921.  
 RANDLE H. POWLEY, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1930.  
 Prof. JAMES BISSETT PRATT, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1925.  
 Rev. Dr. SARTELL PRENTICE, 41 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 \* Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.  
 \* Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), American Legation, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. 1888.  
 ARTHUR PROBSTHAIN, 41 Great Russell St., London W. C. 1, England. 1928.  
 Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUESSNER, c/o Methodist Mission, Medan, Sumatra. 1921.  
 MORRIS H. PULLIN, College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1929.  
 Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).  
 Prof. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.  
 Prof. HAROLD S. QUIGLEY, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1928.  
 Prof. JACOB H. QUIRING, 509 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1932.  
 HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT, 500 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1926.  
 G. RAMADAS, Sri Ramachandra Vilas, Jeypore, Vizagapatam, S. India. 1928.  
 Dr. V. V. RAMANA-SASTRIN, Vedaraniyam, Tanjore District, S. India. 1921.  
 Prof. WILLIAM MADISON RANDALL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1926.  
 ROWLAND RATHBUN, 5728 S. Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.



- Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), Bishop Place, New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Pres. CASS ARTHUR REED, International College, Izmir, Turkey. 1929.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 960 19th Ave., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Prof. J. FRANK REED (Garrett Biblical Inst.), 723 Simpson St., Evanston, Ill. 1932.
- Rabbi SIDNEY L. REGNER, 109 Hollywood Ave., Mt. Penn, Reading, Pa. 1928.
- Prof. NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH (Dropsie College), P. O. Box 337, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Rabbi VICTOR E. REICHEBT, Litt.D., D.D., Rockdale Avenue Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1927.
- Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, Iogimachi, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1920.
- Rev. HILARY G. RICHARDSON, 147 North Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y. 1926.
- Prof. FRANK H. RIDGLEY, Lincoln University, Pa. 1929.
- AMEEN RIHANI, c/o Joseph Sader, Imprimerie Scientifique, Beirut, Syria. 1930.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Wales. 1921.
- Rev. Dr. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Christ Church, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- \*Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 2312 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- GEORGE N. ROERICH, Roerich Museum, 310 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. NICHOLAS ROERICH, Roerich Museum, 310 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Mrs. ROSS W. ROGERS (*née* Henkel), 508 Park Ave., Mansfield, Ohio. 1928.
- Dr. PINCHAS ROMANOFF, Jewish Theological Seminary, N. E. Cor. Broadway and 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1930.
- Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
- HAROLD ROSEN, 5802 North 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.
- Prof. WILLIAM ROSENAU, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Dr. SAMUEL ROSENBLATT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 3507 Springdale Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1929.
- LESSING J. ROSENWALD, care of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Dr. TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN, 515 West 124th St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVITZEFF (Yale Univ.), 1916 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1926.

- SAMUEL ROTHENBERG, M.D., 22 West 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.  
 Miss TERESINA ROWELL, 204 S. Garfield St., Hinsdale, Ill. 1931.  
 Prof. GEORGE ROWLEY, McCormick Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1926.  
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, Columbia University Library, New York, N. Y. 1894.  
 OTTO B. RUPP, LL.D., 660 Colman Building, Seattle, Wash. 1931.  
 Dean CHARLES L. RUSSELL (S. G. Miller School of Theology), 217 Eye St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1930.  
 Prof. ELBERT RUSSELL, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1916.  
 PETER RUTHVEN, 815 S. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1932.  
 Dr. NAJEEB M. SALEEBY, P. O. Box 226, Manila, P. I. 1922.  
 Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph.D., Marmion Way, Rockport, Mass. 1897.  
 Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1924.  
 Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.  
 Prof. KENNETH J. SAUNDERS (Pacific School of Religion), High Acres, Creston Road, Berkeley, Calif. 1924.  
 Prof. HENRY SCHAEFFER, Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1606 South 11th Ave., Maywood, Chicago, Ill. 1916.  
 Rev. G. L. SCHANZLIN, 1200 W. Walnut St., Kokomo, Ind. 1930 (1921).  
 Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.  
 Rev. RICHARD A. SCHERMERHORN, 2128 Maple Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1930.  
 Prof. A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1927.  
 JOHN F. SCHLICHTING, 36 Grenfell Ave., Kew Gardens, N. Y. 1920.  
 MALCOLM B. SCHLOSS, 114 East 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 Dr. ERICH F. SCHMIDT, American Legation, Teheran, Persia. 1930.  
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.  
 ADOLPH SCHOENFELD, 69 East 108th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 †WILFRED H. SCHOFF, The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.  
 Rev. Dr. SAMUEL SCHULMAN, 1 East 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.  
 FREDERIC D. SCHULTHEIS, 3238 West 59th St., Seattle, Wash. 1930.  
 Rabbi JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ, c/o American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1925.  
 JULIUS SCHWARZ, 225 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.  
 Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, 11 Everett St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.  
 C. RANDOLPH JEFFERSON SCOTT, 186 Park Ave., Ambler, Pa. 1925.  
 \* Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 1 Norman Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.  
 Rev. KEITH C. SEELE, Chicago House, Luxor, Egypt. 1926.  
 SAMUEL M. SEGAL, 4750 North 7th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.  
 Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 22 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1917.  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.  
 Prof. O. R. SELLERS (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.  
 Prof. W. T. SEMPLE (Univ. of Cincinnati), 315 Pike St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.

- Miss MADELEINE IRÈNE SÉVERAC, 136 West 4th St., New York, N. Y. 1931.
- Dr. VICTOR N. SHARENKOFF, 609 West 188th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Prof. SRI RAM SHARMA, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, India. 1926.
- Prof. BHAGABAT KUMAR GOSWAMI SHASTRI, Ph.D. (Gourgopinath Temple), 28 Bonomali Sircar St., Kumartuli, Calcutta, India. 1926.
- G. HOWLAND SHAW, American Embassy, Istanbul, Turkey. 1921.
- \*Prof. T. LESLIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.
- Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
- ANDREW R. SHERRIFF, 1320 N. State St., Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Miss LOUISE ADELE SHIER, 1320 Olivia Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1930.
- Dr. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4509 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.
- DON CAMERON SHUMAKER, Y. M. C. A., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1922.
- Prof. S. MOHAMMAD SIBTAIN, Government College, Ludhiana, Punjab, India. 1926.
- Rev. ARTHUR R. SIEBENS, Litt.D., Bowling Green, Ohio. 1926.
- Rev. Dr. JULIUS L. SIEGEL, Humboldt Boulevard Temple, 1908 Humboldt Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1925.
- Rev. REINHARD P. SIEVING, 801 DeMun Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1927.
- Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D., The Temple, East 105th St. at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Dr. SOLOMON L. SKOSS, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Prof. S. B. SLACK, 17 Barton Crescent, Dawlish, Devon, England. 1921.
- \*JOHN R. SLATTERY, 47 Avenue de l'Opéra, Paris, France. 1903.
- Miss WINIFRED SMEATON, 1941 Geddes Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1931.
- C. H. SMILEY, 5827 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Rev. H. FRAMER SMITH, Ph.D., D.D., 153 Institute Place, Chicago, Ill. 1922.
- †Prof. J. M. POWIS SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
- Dr. MARIA WILKINS SMITH (Temple Univ.), 3800 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- MYRON BEMENT SMITH, 400 East 52nd St., New York, N. Y. 1930.
- Rabbi ELIAS L. SOLOMON, D.H.L., 302 West 87th St., New York, N.Y. 1921.
- Prof. E. A. SPEISER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.
- Rev. H. HENRY SPOER, Ph.D., City Hospital, Welfare Island, New York, N. Y. 1926 (1899).
- Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1929 (1912).
- JOHN FRANKLIN SPRINGER, 618 West 136th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Baron Dr. ALEXANDER VON STAEL-HOLSTEIN, Former Austrian Legation, Peiping, China. 1929.
- Dr. W. E. STAPLES, Victoria University, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1927.

- Miss ELIZABETH STEFANSKI, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. G. NYE STEIGER, 10 Avon St., Cambridge, Mass. 1930.
- Prof. FERRIS J. STEPHENS, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Rabbi HARRY J. STERN, 4128 Sherbrooke St. West, Westmount, Montreal, Canada. 1928.
- ISRAEL STIEFEL, 1416 S. Penn Square, Philadelphia, Pa. 1929.
- J. FRANK STIMSON (Bernice P. Bishop Museum), Papeete, Tahiti, French Oceania. 1928.
- WILLIAM B. STIMSON, 1920 Panama St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1928.
- Rev. Dr. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, 2408 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1900.
- Prof. FREDERICK AMES STUFF (Univ. of Nebraska), Station A 1263, Lincoln, Neb. 1921.
- Prof. E. H. STURTEVANT, Yale Graduate School, York St. and Tower Parkway, New Haven, Conn. 1924.
- Dr. W. F. STUTTERHEIM, Jogjakarta, Java, Dutch East Indies. 1929.
- Dr. VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, P. O. Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City, India. 1921.
- Prof. LEO SUPPAN (St. Louis College of Pharmacy), 3540 Pestalozzi St., St. Louis, Mo. 1920.
- Pres. GEORGE SVERDRUP, Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Prof. JOSEPH W. SWAIN, 309 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. 1932.
- Miss NANCY LEE SWANN, Acting Curator, The Gest Chinese Research Library, McGill University, Montreal, Canada. 1932.
- Prof. MARY HAMILTON SWINDLER, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1929.
- ELEAZAR I. SZADZUNSKI, Room 305, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- SEYED AHMAD KASRAWI TABRIZI, Teheran, Persia. 1929.
- Prof. WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1925.
- ZACHARY TAYLOR, c/o M. Schwartz, 223 Monroe St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Dr. CHAIM TCHERNOWITZ (Jewish Inst. of Religion), 640 West 139th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Rabbi SIDNEY S. TEDESCHE, Ph. D., Union Temple, 17 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1925 (1916).
- Rev. PATRICK J. TEMPLE, S.T.D., 7 State St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- NAINSINH THAKAR, 5719 Eighteenth Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1923.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM GORDON THOMPSON, 244 West 104th St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. WILLIAM THOMSON (Harvard Univ.), 32 Linnaean St., Cambridge, Mass. 1925.
- \* Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- Mrs. STEPHEN V. TROWBRIDGE, 5807 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.

- Prof. HAROLD H. TEYON, Union Theological Seminary, 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. RUDOLF TSCHUDI, Ph.D., Benkenstrasse 61, Basle, Switzerland. 1923.
- RYUSAKU TSUNODA, Japanese Culture Center, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1932.
- JOSEPH A. V. TURCK, 522 Linden Ave., Wilmette, Ill. 1926.
- EDWIN H. TUTTLE, The Gelhave, 405 10th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1925.
- \* Rev. Dr. LEMON LEANDER UHL, The Canterbury, 14 Charlesgate West, Boston, Mass. 1921.
- Rabbi SIDNEY E. UNGER, 615 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1929.
- JOSEPH M. UPTON, Assistant Curator, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1931.
- UPTON-CLOSE, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, Chapel of the Good Shepherd, City Home, Welfare Island, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Rev. Dr. N. D. v. LEEUWEN, Holysloot 43, Amsterdam-Noord, Holland. 1928.
- Prof. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. GEORGE VERNADSKY (Yale Univ.), 1984 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1932.
- LUDWIG VOGELSTEIN, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. EDWIN E. VOIGT, 1630 Hinman Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1925.
- Prof. HANS N. VONKOEBBER, Dept. of Oriental Studies, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif. 1931.
- Dean LEE VROOMAN, International College, Izmir, Turkey. 1929.
- \* Mrs. SOPHIE CAMACHO WADIA, c/o The Aryan Path, 51 Esplanade Road, Bombay, India. 1927.
- Dr. ARNOLD WALTHER, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- \* FELIX M. WARBURG, 52 William St., New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. FRANK GARRETT WARD, 5455 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Mrs. EDITH WILLIAMS WARE, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Dr. JAMES R. WARE (Harvard-Yenching Inst.), 15 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1923.
- Prof. O. W. WARMINGHAM (Boston Univ.), 107 University Road, Brookline, Mass. 1928.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Dr. MEYER WAXMAN, 3225 Douglas Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Dean THOMAS WEARING (Colgate-Rochester Divinity School), 263 Canterbury Road, Rochester, N. Y. 1927.
- Prof. EDWIN W. WEBSTER, Ripon College, Ripon, Wis. 1932.
- \* Prof. HUTTON WEBSTER, 823 Tolita Ave., Coronado, Calif. 1921.
- Dr. BARUCH WEITZEL, 4130 Leidy Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Sir HENRY S. WELLCOME, Director, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 54A Wigmore St., London W. 1, England. 1928.

- Prof. GORDON B. WELLMAN (Wellesley College), 17 Midland Road, Wellesley, Mass. 1928.
- ARCHIBALD GIBSON WENLEY, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. 1925.
- Rev. O. V. WERNER, 133 Bassett St., New Britain, Conn. 1921.
- BLAIR WERNESS, 5140 Harriet Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 1932.
- Rev. Prof. OSCAR J. P. WETKLO, Trinity Episcopal Church, Kansas City, Kans. 1930.
- Pres. GEORGE E. WHITE, D.D., Anatolia College, Salonica, Greece. 1931.
- Miss VIOLA M. WHITE, Clarkstown Country Club, Nyack, N. Y. 1928.
- \*Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 186 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- PERCIVAL W. WHITTLESEY, M.A., Highmount Ave., Nyack, N. Y. 1920.
- \*Miss CAROLYN M. WICKER, care of Rierson Library Art Institute, Chicago, Ill. 1921.
- Prof. ALBAN G. WIDGERY, Box 4738, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1929.
- PETER WIERNIK, 922 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- MOSHE WILBUSHWICH, Haifa, Palestine. 1928.
- Rev. A. L. WILEY, Ph.D., Ratnagiri, India. 1926.
- Pres. ERNEST HATCH WILKINS, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio. 1928.
- Miss RUTH C. WILKINS, 4436 Berkeley Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- HIRAM PARKES WILKINSON, M.A., Drumballyhagan, Tobermore, Co. Derry, N. Ireland. 1928.
- Prof. HERBERT L. WILLETT (Univ. of Chicago), 319 Richmond Road, Kenilworth, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, Ph.D. (Univ. of Michigan), The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- \*Hon. EDWARD T. WILLIAMS, 1412 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1901.
- Mrs. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- GRANT WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1931.
- WALTER G. WILLIAMS, 731 Foster St., Evanston, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. JOHN A. WILSON, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Director, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, Calif. 1911.
- Rev. ADOLF LOUIS WISMAR, Ph.D., 419 West 145th St., New York, N. Y. 1922.
- Dr. UNRAI WOGIHARA, 595 Ta-ma-mura, Kita-ta-ma-gun, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1921.
- Rev. R. EMERSON WOLFE, Boxford, Mass. 1932.
- Prof. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 164 Summit Ave., Providence, R. I. 1904.
- Prof. HARRY A. WOLFSON (Harvard Univ.), 35 Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.

- Rabbi LOUIS WOLSEY, 615 N. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- WALLACE I. WOLVERTON, 132 Goodspeed Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. FRANK ELMER WOOD (Univ. of Chicago), 5744 Kenwood Ave., Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- \*Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, 1401 Fairmont St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1905.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD (Dartmouth College), 3 Clement Road, Hanover, N. H. 1917.
- Dr. ANGUS S. WOODBURN, Babbington Garden Road, Madras, India. 1926.
- Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 29 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
- Prof. ALFRED COOPER WOOLNER, M.A. (University of the Punjab), 53 Lawrence Road, Lahore, India. 1921.
- E. C. WORMAN, 5 Russell St., Calcutta, India. 1926.
- Prof. W. H. WORRELL, Angell Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1928 (1910).
- Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Rev. HORACE K. WRIGHT, Ahmednagar, India. 1921.
- Prof. WALTER L. WRIGHT, JR. (Princeton Univ.), 38 Edwards Place, Princeton, N. J. 1931.
- Prof. MARTIN J. WYNGAARDEN, Calvin Seminary Library, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1924.
- S. FENTON YARD, 5044 Page Blvd., St. Louis, Mo. 1932.
- Rev. LAZARUS YAURE, 4322 N. Marshall St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1932.
- Prof. ROYDEN KEITH YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. MOHAMMED HATMIDULLAH KHAN YOSE, Government College, Ajmer, Rajputana, India. 1926.
- Prof. HERRICK B. YOUNG, American College, Teheran, Persia. 1928.
- N. ZACKAI, 1416 South Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Miss MARTHA L. ZECHER, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. SOLOMON ZETTLIN, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.
- Rev. Prof. SAMUEL M. ZWEMER (Princeton Theol. Seminary), 48 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J. 1920.

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